

### Other Conference Participants

The following excerpt appeared in the July 23, 1975, issue of the Guardian (see Appendix), under the by-line of executive editor IRWIN SILBER (conference delegate noted above):

"Solidarity with the struggle for Puerto Rican independence is the theme of a forthcoming international conference that will be held in Havana, Cuba, Sept. 5-7."

"About 250 delegates from around the world are expected to attend. Particularly prominent will be delegations from Latin American and other third world countries, among them Vietnam, Cambodia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and resistance forces from Chile. Another large bloc from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is expected."

"A 60-member delegation from Puerto Rico representing a broad spectrum of political forces on the island will comprise the largest contingent at the conference. Second in size will be the U.S. delegation of 20."

### Conference Background

The following excerpt appeared in the April 27, 1975, issue of Granma Weekly Review, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, in an interview with identified by Granma as a member of the of the Communist Party of Cuba and

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Granma: "Why has the World Peace Council adopted the solidarity with Puerto Rico as one of its fundamental tasks? What circumstances determine this position?"

time focused its attention on the Puerto Rican reality, but it is true that recently the interest of the organization in this connection has been growing considerably. At a meeting held in Sofia in February of 1974 it was resolved to hold an international conference on the Puerto Rican case. In October last, at a meeting held in Panama, the Bureau of the Presidency of the World Peace Council proposed to the Cuban delegation that Cuba host this event. In December, at the meeting in Prague of the National Committees for Peace, this initiative was ratified and the preparatory meeting that just took place was agreed upon."

A Preparatory Meeting of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico was held in Havana, Cuba, on March 30 and 31, 1975.

Information concerning the World Peace Council is set forth in the appendix attached hereto.

### "Guardian" Viewpoint of Conference

The following excerpt appeared in the July 23, 1975, issue of the Guardian, supra, under the by-line of executive editor IRWIN SILBER:

\*Despite virtually unanimous support for the cause of Puerto Rican independence among progressive forces in the U.S., controversy has surrounded the planned conference ever since it was first announced. An international preparatory meeting, held in Havana March 30-31, was itself the scene of intense ideological struggle over the proposed political framework for the conference. \*Forces representing the Soviet bloc countries posed the struggle for Puerto Rican independence primarily within the context of 'detente,' while others placed principal emphasis on Puerto Rico's links with other national liberation struggles in the third world."

Pation of two separate U.S. groups in the preparatory meeting. One group was the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC), sponsors of the massive Oct. 27th Madison Square Garden rally in support of Puerto Rican independence and now the one permanent North American organization whose principal purpose is building U.S. support for the independence movement. The PRSC was

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"The other group attending the preparatory meeting in Havana consisted of three representatives of the World Peace Council forces in the U.S., all of whom are leading figures in the U.S. Communist Party. Both groups have seats on the conference secretariat."

"The U.S. Support Committee for the International Conference is an uneasy coalition between the PRSC, the Communist Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and a number of different individuals and organizations who have been prominent in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence."

"Some organizations, such as the October League and the Congress of Afrikan People, have opposed the conference and decided to boycott it because of the prominent role played by the Soviet-dominated World Peace Council in initiating the Meeting."

"For its part, the Communist Party has been somewhat less than enthusiastic about the participation in the U.S. Support Committee of a wide variety of anti-imperialist and Marxist-Leninist forces it has dismissed as 'ultra-leftists' and 'Maoists' on other occasions."

### **APPENDIX**

#### THE "GUARDIAN"

The December 1, 1961, edition of the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" noted that the "National Guardian" (known since 2/10/68 as the "Guardian") was established in 1947 as a "progressive weekly" and stated that "Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia." The Communist Party, USA, is a subversive organization that serves as an arm of the international movement dominated by the Soviet Union.

The "Guardian" is currently located at 33 West 17th Street, New York, New York, and is self-described, in its May 9, 1973, edition, as an "independent radical newsweekly."

An article appearing in the February 12, 1968, edition of the "New York Times" notes "The 'Guardian' is considered the largest radical weekly in America" and "takes a strong left position, but is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making." This same article quoted one of the editors of the "Guardian" as saying "our job is to build a Radical Movement. To quote the Cuban Revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it but also to move along with it...we are movement people acting as journalists."

### WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The World Peace Council (WPC) is a worldwide Soviet-oriented communist front, which was formed at the conclusion of the second World Peace Congress held in Warsaw, Poland, November 16-22, 1950, under communist initiative. Its headquarters are in Helsinki, Finland. It continues today as a major international communist effort to discredit the United States.

### APPENDIX

### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION **FOIPA** DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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Special Agent in Charge

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### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York

**SEP** 2 5 1975

International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, Havana, Cuba, September 5-7, 1975

On September 24, 1975, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a copy of a six-page document titled:

GENERAL DECLARATION

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO

HAVANA, CUBA SEPTEMBER 5-8, 1975

Source advised that this document was distributed at a press conference held on September 23, 1975, at the United Nations headquarters in New York City.

Source furnished a press release in the Spanish language, dated September 18, 1975, under the following letterhead:

"OFICINA DE PUERTO RICO ANTE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS delegacion permanente del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno (Movimiento Pro Independencia) ante las Naciones Unidas P.O. Box 92 Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 1003 tel. 212-675-1585"

(Translation)
OFFICE OF PUERTO RICO BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS
Permanent Delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist
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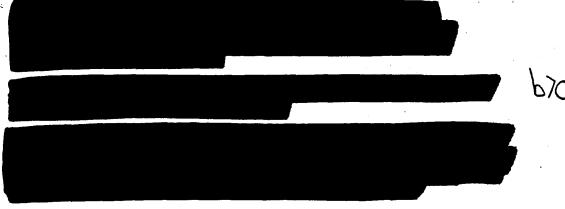
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

pages:

Information concerning the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) is set forth in the Appendix attached hereto.

The press release indicated that the International Conference had designated a delegation, to present the document to the United Nations.

In addition to the press release indicated that the following individuals by the International Conference



The aforementioned document appears on the following

#### Oficina de Puerto Rico ante las Naciones Unidas

delegación permanente del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (Movimiento Pro Independencia) ante las Naciones Unidas

P.O. Box 92 Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003 tel. 212-675-1585

CENERAL DECLARATION

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO

HAVANA, CUBA SEPTEMBER 5-8,1975. 1.1/

The International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico took place in Havana, Cuba, on the eve of the 107th anniversary of the "Cry of Lares", expression of the vigor of Puerto Rican nationality and the date on which the First Republic was proclaimed.

This great meeting was held from September 5 to 7. Participating were 291 delegates and 34 observers, representing numerous social and cultural institutions, liberation movements, Sponsoring Committees, Peace Committees and trade-union, youth, student, women's, peasant and religious organizations from 79 nations; 18 international organisms, making total of 325 participants from a number of social and political sectors.

The growing international solidarity with the Puerto Rican people's struggle for independence, of which this Conference is eloquent proof, has developed within a historic framework of transcendental importance for the cause of the peoples.

The world correlation of forces favors those who are struggling for national independence, democracy, social progress, peace and socialism. It is increasingly adverse to imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and international reaction.

The growing development of the Socialist countries, the collapse of the colonial system, the historic victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against US imperialist aggression. The successes of the liberation movements in the former Portugese colonies, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Angola, the progress of democratic forces in capitalist Europe and especially the collapse of fascism and initiation of the construction of a new society in Portugal; the development and consolidation of the Cuban Revolution, the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Latin America, the positions adopted by several governments of Latin America in defense of their natural resources and against the domination of the multinational corporations, the development of the non-sligned countries movement, ratification of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, the international process of detente which was reflected in the outcome of the Conference of European Security and Cooperation held in Helsinki; and the strengthening of the militant unity of anti-imperialist forces, are all realities that characterize the present international situation.

These changes open up new perspectives in the peoples' struggles against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism, racism and reaction, and for attaining full national liberation.

But imperialism -- which has not altered its aggressive nature -- still maintains its economic and military power and is trying to recover lost territory and to maintain control over the areas it still holds, systematically opposing the struggle of the peoples.

We can see this in the Middle East where the United States supports the expansionist policy of Israeli ruling circles that refuse to withdraw from occupied Arab lands and to recognize the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establishment of their national authority in their own territory. We see this in Chile, in U.S. support of the Pascist dictatorship which it helped bring to power. And in Fortugal under attack by reactionary forces and imperialism which are trying to crush the young democracy.

In Angola, imperialism and its allies are working to frustrate the anti-colonialist process and are trying to destroy the People's Movement for Angola's Liberation (MPL A), vanguard of that African people's liberation struggle. Imperialist intervnetion is trying at all costs to sabotage Cypriot independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. In Korea the people's aspiration for peaceful, independent reunification is being obstructed by U.S. imperialism. In South Africa it heads the world imperialist system in supporting the racist regimes oppressing the Africa majorities.

All this demonstrates the need to develop and increase anti-imperialist struggles everywhere.

This is a historic moment in which international solidarity has new and even broader possibilities and is deeply rooted in all the peoples of the world.

As to the struggle of the peoples subjected to all forms and manifestations of colonialism, the vigorous anti-imperialist forces throughout the world recognize the unshirkable duty to increase their support for those who are valiantly struggling for national liberation and their right to full sovereignty and independence. These are the fundamental principles that demand the most active solidarity of all those who fight for world peace.

Colonialism is constant aggression against subjected peoples and is a factor opposed to the development and consolidation of peace.

The national territory of Puerto Rico is the most important colonial possession of U.S. imperialism. The delegates contributed to showing various aspects of the relations of colonial domination imposed by the United States on this Caribbean island. At the same time, they reiterated their solidarity with the Puerto Rican people's struggle for independence.

In 1898 the US imperialists invaded this small Caribbean territory with their Armed Forces, stripping the people of the right to self-determination that they had wrung from Spain after a long struggle. From that time on, the Federal Government of the United States has exercised the most absolute control over that nation.

The US Government holds and directly exercises full control over the colonial administration in virtually all areas of basic authority, including defense and foreign affairs, immigration and emigration, communications and international transportation, labor-management relations and trade.

The so-called Free Associated State is a fraud by which U.S. imperialism tried to hide the typically colonialist nature of its intervention in Fuerto Rico. The colonial administration puppets lack authority and their powers are reduced to naming administrative assistants and attending to minor functions of a provincial or municipal nature.

The EIA (Free Associated State) was imposed in 1952 by the United States Government which, by virtue of US Congressional Law No. 600, placed before the Fuerto Rican people the alternative of accepting small reforms implied by its institution or maintaining the status quo that had prevailed until then.

Based on the establishment of the Free Associated State, the United States Government notified the United Nations in 1953 that it would no longer submit reports on Puerto Rico to the UN, as required under Article 73 (c) of the UN Charter. It justified its refusal by arguing that "this territory has attained self-government." The fraud served its purpose and the UN General Assembly, by a small majority, released the US from making the required reports on its colony.

But 20 years later, in August 1973, the United Nations Decolonization Committee adopted a resolution ratified in December of the same year by the General Assembly which "recognized the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence by virtue of Résolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960."

Puerto Rico is the most flagrant case of colonialism along with that of the Panama Canal Zone, of the Falkland Islands off Argentina, Belize, Guadalupe, French Guiana, Martinique and other Latin America territories.

This United Nations decision -- which includes the case of Puerto Rico on its decolonization agenda -- represents an important victory for the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence, and reflects the growing solidarity with this just cause on the part of the international community and especially from the Socialist countries and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Because the colonial situation of Puerto Rico has been unmasked the United States imperialists, with the servile collaboration of their colonial administrators, intend once again to deceive the Puerto Rican people and the world, pretending they are going to reformulate relations between Washington and the so-called Estado Libre Asociado by means of a "new bilateral agreement."

An Ad Hoc Committee for this purpose was set up two years ago composed of seven US members and seven Puerto Rican colonial functionaries and collaborators, who have just submitted a draft of a "Pact of Permanent Union of Puerto Rico with the United States" to the President of the United States, by which the structures of U.S. colonial domination will be not only maintained intact but also strengthened opening the way to annexation of the island as an "incorporated territory of the United States."

In order to support these aims, imperialism maneuvered until it succeeded in postponing the discussion and vote on the colonial situation of Puarto Rico in the United Nations Decolonization Committee.

We denounce the imperialist propaganda of the United States Government which is aimed at confusing world public opinion, passing off their relations of domination and control with Puerto Rico as relations between "freely associated" countries. We place before world public opinion the colonial case of Puerto Rico, where direct domination by United States imperialism is brutally demonstrated without subterfuge and in increasing in all areas of the nation's life.

Puerto Rico holds extraordinary economic importance for United States imperialism. United States investment in the entire world, exclusive of Puerto Rico, amounted to 110,240 million dollars in 1974. In that same year, its industrial and commercial investments on Puerto Rican soil amounted to 6,112 million dollars; in other words, direct investment in Puerto Rico represented 5.5 percent of total U.S. investment worldwide, not including investments in the U.S. itself.

Direct investment in Puerto Rico amounted to 20.9 percent of investment in all other underdeveloped countries, and 40.3 percent of the total investment of Latin America. The profit from these investments rose to 1,345 million dollars in 1974.

The U.S. obtains more profit from this tiny island in the Caribbean than from the European Common Market and half of all profits obtained in the whole of Latin America.

The profit obtained by the companies in various branches of industry are as follows: in the chemical industry, 34.1 percent of investments; in oil refining, 25.3 percent; electronics and electric equipment, 20.7 percent; in the garment industry, 23.7 percent; and in the metals industry, 24.7 percent.

The richest minority of the population (20 percent) absorbs 51 percent of the national income. The poorest 20 percent receives only 5 percent of the income. It is not by chance that a large portion of the population relies on public assistance.

This makes the Puerto Rican economy dependent, deformed, inflationary and unrelated to national needs. Puerto Rico produces that which it does not consume and consumes that which it does not produce.

More than 2 million Puerto Ricans (40 percent of the Puerto Rican population) have been obliged to emigrate to the United States where they are concentrated in ghettos in the large eastern and mid-western cities.

These emigrants make up one of the most oppressed, discriminated and abused sectors in the United States. They receive the lowest wages, work under exceedingly onerous labor conditions and suffer, as do Afro-Americans, Mexicans, Asians, Native Americans and other minority groups, from ignominious, political, social, economic, cultural and racial discrimination within the United States.

All this points up the need for close unity between Puerto Ricans and the working class and progressive and democratic forces of the United States, for Puerto Rican liberation and for development of the democratic and revolutionary struggle within the U.S. itself.

The colonial government is stepping up its massive sterilization of women through its so-called family planning programs. Around 35 percent of the female population of child-bearing age have already been sterilized. In this way, together with massive emigration plans and the indiscriminate entry of foreigners, enemies of the people, it seeks to replace the population in order to wipe out Fuerto Rican nationality.

United States imperialism is using Fuerto Rico as a testing site for sterilization and contraception techniques which it later uses in other regions of the world.

Puerto Rico is also a giant military fortress of US imperialism. More than 10 percent of the arable land is being used for those ends. The United States has atomic weapons thera, endangering international peace and the security of the peoples.

The CIA and its Peace Corps, the FBI, and various other agencies of the imperialist intelligence community train agents, repress the patriotic forces and promote or subsidize counterrevolutionary groups from other countries. They also train Task Forces in Puerto Rico.

This extraordinary United States military arsenal constitutes a constant threat to national liberation movements and to those countries in Latin America that are fighting for economic independence, full sovereignty and in defense of their natural resources. The invasion of the Dominican REpublic was launched from Puerto Rico, as well as the defeated invasion of Plays Giron in Cuba. Venezuela has suffered the threats of U.S. military forces. Asia, Africa and even Europe have also been subjected to these threats.

The defeat of colonialism in Puerto Rico and the total liberation of its people will be a profoundly just event that will allow the disarticulation and dismantling of one of United States imperialism's most strategic military fortress and will be a valuable contribution to the cause of world peace.

In Puerto Rico all the mass media, educational programs, the institutionalized churches and many forms of the social structure and the child-raising patterns imposed by the United States are simed at "North Americanizing" the Puerto Ricans.

The people have been subjected to a process aimed at the destruction of their Latin American roots and culture to wipe out their nationality. However, in the face of the great alienating force, the people of Puerto Rico have waged a strong and tenacious struggle to preserve their cultural values.

In the midst of the oppression, however, the Fuerto Ricans keep alive their cultural traditions, which every day affirm their continuity and their own originality. And in this task the workers, youth and students are taking an even greater part.

The Conference also exposes the dramatic situation suffered by the Puerto Rican people in the field of public health which is extremely deficient and very expensive; the people are thus deprived of this vital attention; it also exposes the chaotic housing situation and the increasingly worsening environmental conditions caused by increased pollution from the highly toxic plants and factories installed on the island without proper safeguards, and which the metropolis has banned in its own territory.

Turing the 77 years of U.S. domination, the Puerto Rican people have uninterruptedly maintained their struggle for national liberation.

Today, the independence movement faces a new repressive escalation against its leaders and militants and its political, trade-union and student organizations, in which the most varied methods are used: assasinations, terrorist attacks, frame-ups, defamation campligns against leaders or the ideology of the patriotic revolutionary forces, vainly trying to crush the convictions and the liberating actions of the masses.

International solidarity for the independence of Puerto Rico has greatly advanced during the last few years, manifesting itself in concrete facts. Outstanding among these is the annual commemoration of September 23 and support given to Puerto Rico at international forums.

This solidarity has been reflected in all its magnitude at this International Conference, as well as in its preparatory efforts which have gained the support of broad representative sectors throughout Latin America and the world.

The preparation of the International Conference, the setting up of Sponsoring Committees in numerous countries, especially in the Americas, are giving this solidairty with this sister country an organizational scope and broadness never before attained.

The Following have declared their support of Puerto Rican independence: Government figures, parliamentarians, political leaders, trade union, youth and student leaders; peasants, workers in art, cultural, science and education and religious figures.

All these concrete, broad and massive actions have placed world solidarity for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people on a level never before attained. This international solidarity will have greater possibilities of materializing in successful results in combination with the broad, united participation of all anti-imperialist and anti-colonial forces of the Puerto Rican people.

This combination of internal and external factors constitutes the fundamental basis for the victory of this just cause.

The Conference is the beginning of a higher phase of international solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people, which is a part of the whole anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, national and social liberation process for peace, democracy, progress and socialism which is taking place throughout the world.

The participants in this Conference consider world-wide support for the Fuerto Rican independence movement and people a pressing duty that must be sustained and expanded. The delegates express their intention to hold a second International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico within the next three years and instruct the International Preparatory Committee and the present National Sponsoring Committees, and those which will be created in the future, to work towards that objective.

They issue a call to strenghten the intensity of the solidarity campaigns that traditionally take place on the 23rd of September, anniversary of the "Cry of Lares"; to increase the denunciation of the danger constituted by U.S. military enclaves on Puerto Rican territory; and to work to halt the mass sterilization campaign that is being carried out against the people of Puerto Rico.

Also, to step up the initiatives to demand that the United States authorities grant the unconditional and immediate release of the patriots Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero.

The Conference expressed the need to precede next year's meeting of the United Mations Decolonization Committee with an intensive world-wide campaign of solidarity with the Puerto Rican peoples' struggle for independence.

The participants consider it of vital importance to submit the General Declaration from this International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico to the UN Secretary Seneral, to the President of the Decolonization Committee and other pertinent auxiliary organizations of the United Nations.

The participants in the Conference unanimously issue a call to stimulate the campaigns of solidarity for the independence of Fuerto Rico throughout the world in the spirit of the content of this General Declaration.

Our Conference supports the proposals on Puerto Rico adopted in the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries Movement held in Havana in March 1975 and at the Fifth Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lima in August 1975.

Our Conference reaffirms its rejection of the pretention on the part of the colonial administration that it represents the Puerto Rican people. The people of Puerto Rico are represented by their patriotic, independence and revolutionary forces that are forging their movement of national liberation.

The convocaton, organization and development of this meeting, in which representatives of progressive, democratic and peace-loving peoples the world over have been broadly represented, show that the just cause of the Puerto Rican people is deeply rooted in the universal conscience.

The delegates to this Conference express to the Cuban people and Révolutionary Government, to the Communist Party of Cuba and its First Secretary Communante Fidel Castro, their profound gratitude for their fraternal hospitality, expression of their unwavering solidarity with the great liberation cause of the peoples. We have seen the Cuban people, enthusiastic, united, filled with fervor constructing a new society.

Achieving the independence of Puerto Rico will constitute the materialization of a great dream of the American forefathers Simon Bolívar, Ramón Emeterio Betances, Hostos, Jóse Martí and Pedro Albizu Campos.

The Fuerto Rican people's determination to be free shall not fail, nor will international solidarity, newly affirmed at this Conference, slacken. It will be expanded and deepened within the historic reality of a world in which colonialism is totally out of date and not to be tolerated!

Long live a free, independent and sovereign Puerto Rico!

Havana, Cuba

September 7, 1975

### APPENDIX

### PARTIDO SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUENO (PSP) (SOCIALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO)

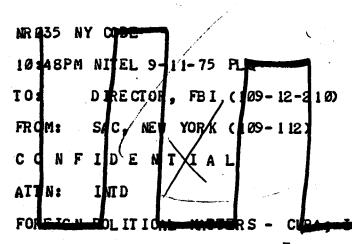
The PSP is a Marxist-Leninist organization which advocates total independence for Puerto Rico from the United States. PSP was founded in Puerto Rico in November, 1971, at the Eighth Annual Convention of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) when the membership of the latter organization voted to change its name to PSP.

The PSP openly supports the revolutionary government of Cuba and maintains permanent representation in Havana. The official PSP publication, "Claridad", has frequently claimed the right of PSP to use violence to accomplish its revolutionary objectives.

**APPENDIX** 

# MESSAGE RELAY

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Legal Coun.
Telephone Rm.
Director Secty

Assoc. Dir.

Dep.-A.D.-Inv Asst. Dir.:

ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1975, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING TRAVEL PLANS OF VARIOUS CUBAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAVE BEEN ATTENDING A SPECIAL SESSION AT THE UNITED NATIONS





NR Ø35 NY CODE

FEDERAL BURGAR OF BUTCHESTAUGHESTS

10:48PM NITEL 9-11-75 PLQ

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM:

SAC / NEW YORK (109-112)

CONFIDENTIAL

HEADQUARTERS IN NEW

ATT N: INTD

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA: IS - CUBA.

ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1975, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FUR NISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, FUR NISHED THE FOLLOWING TRAVEL PLANS OF VARIOUS CUBAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAVE BEEN ATTENDING A SPECIAL SESSION AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Assoc. Dir. Dep.-A.D.-Adm. Dep.-A.D.-Inv.. Asst. Dir.: Admin. Comp. Syst. Ext. Affairs Files & Com. Gen. Inv. . Ident. Inspection Ukeliku Laboratory Plan. & Eval. . Spec. lnv. Training . Legal Coun. .

Telephone Rm. Director Sec'y

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here is unclassified except WHERE SHOWN OTHERWIS

### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Section 552	•	Section 552a
(b)(1)	□ (b)(7)(A)	□ (d)(5)
□ (b)(2)	□ (b)(7)(B)	□ (j)(2)
(b)(3)	□ (b)(7)(C)	□ (k)(1)
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□ (b)(5)	□ (b)(9)	□ (k)(6)
<b>(b)(6)</b>		□ (k)(7)
Information pertained only to a request is listed in the title only		subject of your request or the subject of
	ther Government agency(ies). These to you.	documents were referred to that agency

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

109-HQ-12-210-6754, page 2,6755-6756 & documents dated

9-8-75, 9-22-75, 9-18-75, 9+0-75.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of

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### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

### 1emoranaum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI



SEP 1 6 1975 DATE:

FROM

(109-43) (105-1747) (P\*) SAC, MIAMI

Where Shown offerwise.

SUBJECT:

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - PANAMA

IS - PANAMA

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

IS - CUBA

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above, containing information furnished by and 8/18/75.

Information copies are designated for New York and San Juan in view of their interest in Cuban and related matters.

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Bureau (Enc.7) (RM) (2- FPM - PANAMA) (2- FPM - CUBA) 1- New York (Info) (Enc.1)(RM)
1- San Juan (Info) (Enc.1)(RM) 2- Miami (1- 109-43) (1- 105-1747) VJW/thm (8)

109-12-210-NOT RECORDED SEP 24 1975

ENULOSUES

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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	To:	PUEADWY RUEBWJA	•	President	The Vice		White House Situ		2
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### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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# 348

## MESSAGE RELAY

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To	RUEADWW/	The President	☐ The Vice Pre	sident		House Situation Room ttn:	20
	RUEBWJA/	Attorney General	Deputy Attom	ey General alysis and Eva	dustion Un	it	
	RUEBWJA/	Assistant Attorney	General, Civil Righ	ts Division		•	
	RUEBWJA/		General, Criminal D Security Section	Pivision ☐ Attn: Gene	ral Crimes	Section	
	RUEABND/	Drug Enforcement	Administration	RUEANAT	/ Natio	onal Aeronautics & Space Ac	im.
	RUEBWJA/	Immigration and Na	aturalization Service	RUEOIAA/	Natio	on al Security Agency	
	RUEBWJA/	U. S. Marshal's Se	rvice		(DIR	NSA/NSOC (Atta: SOO))	
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	RUEACSI/	Department of the	Army	RUEAUSA/		Postal Service (if Classifi	
	RUEAIIA/	Director, CIA				RUEVDFS if Unclassified	
	RUEBJGA/	Commandant, U. S.	Coast Guard	RUEHSE/		. Secret Service (PID)	
	RUEKJCS/	Director, Defense	Intelligence Agency	RUEHOC/		etary of State	
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Regarding IRWIN SILBER's (conference delegate) account of captioned conference (LHM, pages 2-13), advised that although SILBER was basically pro-Chinese (Maoist) and the conference was for the most part Soviet initiated/orientated, SILBER has a reputation for objective reporting.

advised that SILBER's account would probably be the best available.

p20



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

SEP 1 9 1975

(see Appendix)

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International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, Havana, Cuba, September 5-7, 1975

Confidential source visited Cuba in early September, 1975, and reported the following observations regarding captioned conference: (1)11

vised that delegates to the conference were lodged at the Habana Libre Hotel and that daily conference sessions were held at the "Salon de Embajadores" located on the second floor of this hotel. A closing ceremony was held outdoors on September 9. 1975, at a new school on the outskirts of Havana dedicated and named that day after PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS. Prime Minister FIDEL CASTRO, Cuban President OSVALDO DORTICOS and

were among the featured speakers at this ceremony.

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS (1891-1965) was the titular head of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) (see Appendix).

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### CONFIDENTIAL

International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, Havana, Cuba, September 5-7, 1975

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Concerning SILBER's viewpoint of the conference, characterized the "Guardian" and its vexocutive editor, ERWIN SILBER, as pro-Chinese (Maoist) oriented.

62 67C/D

advised that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) represents the vanguard of the Puerto Rican independence movement ba and although the conference was reportedly initiated by the Soviet-67D dominated World Peace Council, the PSP was not basically pro-Soviet.

learned that there were indications that the PSP took steps to forestall any attempts during the conference to raise by the issue of China's inaction on a Cuban sponsored resolution ( to by affirm "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence") before the United Nations Decolonization Committee in August, 1975. (By an 11-to-9 vote, the Puerto Rican question was shelved until 1976; China's delegate on the Decolonization Committee did not participate in the voting).

opinion the PSP achieved a strong measure of success in 1974 and 1975 in solidifying American left and international support for its cause, however, it is a delicate balance between the so-called revisionist camp (Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and the United States) and the anti-revisionists camp Marxist-Leninists, Stanlists, Maoists. The PSP's position, according to opinion is first and foremost a Cuban position and therefore somewhat restrained by American-Soviet detente and current signs of American-Cuban diplomacy. The relationship between Cuba and the Soviet Union and Cuba (the Cuban Revolution) and the PSP, according to opinion makes it difficult to speculate to what extent would Cuba support (materially) guerrilla type revolutionary activities in Puerto Rico.

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### **APPENDIX**

### PARTIDO SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUENO (PSP) (SOCIALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO)

The PSP is a Marxist-Leninist organization which advocates total independence for Puerto Rico from the United States. PSP was founded in Puerto Rico in November, 1971, at the Eighth Annual Convention of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) when the membership of the latter organization voted to change its name to PSP.

The PSP openly supports the revolutionary government of Cuba and maintains permanent representation in Havana. The official PSP publication, "Claridad", has frequently claimed the right of PSP to use violence to accomplish its revolutionary objectives.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

### APPENDIX

### NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO (NPPR)

The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico founded in 1936, has the avowed goal of independence for Puerto Rico, which has included armed rebellion and insurrection, as well as the attempted assassination of President of the United States, HARRY S. TRUMAN and members of the U.S. Congress.

APPENDIX

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# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York

OCT 1 1975

International Conference of Solidarity With the Independence of Puerto Rico, Havana, Cuba, September 5-7,1975

Reference is made to Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) memorandum dated September 19,1975, at New York, New York.

Referenced memorandum includes an account of captioned conference by Irwin Silber, a member of the 20-member United States Delegation to captioned conference, and executive editor of the independent radical newsweekly "Guardian". (Silber's account appeared in the September 24,1975, issue of the "Guardian", pages 16 and 17).

On September 17,1975, a confidential source characterized Irwin Silber as Pro-Chinese (Maoist) oriented.

The October 1,1975, issue of the "Guardian", page 9, contains a follow-up article concerning captioned conference under Silber's by-line. This article appears on the following two pages:

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The recent International Conference in Solidarity with Puerto Rico held in Havana (Guardian, Sept. 24) has been strongly attacked—both before it was held and since—by a variety of forces.

Not unexpectedly, Henry Kissinger said the conference was meddling in "the internal affairs of the U.S.," thus attempting to disguise the fact that it is U.S. imperialism that has been meddling in the internal affairs of Puerto

Rico for almost a century.

But the attacks have not come only from the agents of imperialism. Some sectors of the new communist movement—led by the October League (OL)—have launched a campaign of invective and harassment against the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) in the U.S. for supporting and agreeing to participate in the Havana meeting.

The OL is, of course, entitled to its opinion. They had every opportunity to express that opinion at the founding convention of the PRSC last March, at which time the proposal to participate in the Havana conference was

endorsed overwhelmingly.

Since that time, however, the OL has carried on an unremitting campaign within the PRSC against the conference. It has also published articles in its newspaper, the Call, attacking the conference, in the process of which it has resorted to both slander and falsehood to buttress its ideological position.

#### **NATIONAL CHAUVINISM**

It must be said that the actions of the OL since last March in relation to the international conference constitute another form of meddling in the internal affairs of the Puerto Rican people, an interference that is all the more reprehensible because it emanates from the left in the very country which holds the Puerto Rican people in colonial domination. To put it as bluntly as circumstances require, the OL campaign is nothing less than an act of national chauvinism.

This is a serious charge and should, therefore, be documented.

The international conference has been seen by virtually the entire Puerto Rican left and the leading sectors of the independence movement as a legitimate and useful step in building worldwide support for the independence struggle. Even groups within Puerto Rico who have important differences on many ideological and strategic questions—including differences around such questions as "detente" and the two superpowers—united in support of the international conference.

Despite the widespread support in the Puerto Rican left for the international assembly, North American groups are not obliged to endorse the action. However, given the political character of the Puerto Rican movement that participated in (and actually were the prime initiators of) the conference, one could say that at the least, a North American political group was obliged to refrain from attacking the efforts of the national liberation movement.

But the OL has not even been diplomatic in its objections. It has, in effect, attempted to make acceptance of its strategy for Puerto Rican independence the condition for U.S. support.

And here an analogy is certainly in order. It is not so long since certain U.S. antiwar groups felt it was their right—indeed their political obligation—to pass judgment on the strategy and tactics of the liberation forces in Vietnam. When the Vietnamese called upon their supporters throughout the world to force the U.S. to sign the Paris Peace Agreement, there were some in the U.S.

who took it upon themselves to veto this strategy. They were certainly entitled to their opinions, but when they translated those opinions into a campaign against the Paris peace accords, they were rightfully charged with attempting to obstruct and sabotage the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle—and with an act of blatant national chauvinism.



Noel Colon Martinez, leader of Puerto Rico's delegation to Havana conference.

The OL's chauvinist' stand towards the Puerto Rican struggle has led it to the point where—in order to justify its indefensible position—it has been forced to develop an "analysis" of the conference which is laced with distortion and which buttresses itself by outright lies.

First to the lies. In the latest issue of the Call

(September 1975), the OL says:

1. "The U.S. Support Committee, the main organizing body for the Conference, is composed of half CP members."

Untrue. Of 20 people who made up the executive board of the support committee, six (less than a third) were designated by the U.S. committee of "World Peace Forces," the euphemism that the CP adopted for its participants in the body. The difference between six and 10 means the difference between a minority bloc and a controlling half.

2. The OL says that the support committee's "head is Grace Mora who presently leads the CPUSA's Puerto

Rican Commission.

Untrue. The political leadership of the committee was a three-person group, of whom one was from the CP. The administrative head of the committee was Ro Reilly, its executive director.

3. The OL: "The delegation chosen by the support committee to represent the U.S. at this bogus conference

is composed of one-half CP members."

Untrue. Readers are referred to last week's issue of the Guardian which contains the full list of the 20-member U.S. delegation. CP members and sympathizers constituted 25% of the delegation. This is important because the OL, further on in the same article, suggests that the U.S. delegation was not genuinely independent. In fact, it was singularly independent, firmly rejected CP positions on several occasions and made a significant contribution to keeping the Havana conference focused on the objective of militant, nonnegotiable support for Puerto Rican independence.

4. The OL asserts that the "main activity" of the support committee was "promoting speaking engagements for members of the World Peace Council."

Deceptive. The charge, which never specifies who these World Peace Council members are, suggests that some Soviet hack was giving speeches under the support

1

committee's auspices. The speaking engagements in question were by Noel Colon Martinez, president of the Puerto Rican Peace Council, head of the Puerto Rican delegation to the international conference, a staunch independence fighter and politically independent. Like a number of other national Peace Councils, the Puerto Rican Peace Council is not under Soviet domination.

These factual distortions, while sufficient to cast a shadow over the OL's ideological position, reflect something more serious: the abandonment of both a Marxist methodology of political analysis and of a Leninist principle of support of a people's struggle for self-determination.

#### "REVISIONIST MANEUVER?"

In the view of the OL, the entire conference can be summarized as "nothing but a revisionist maneuver." The OL doesn't even admit that the conference might have two aspects—and that one aspect of the conference (even if, in the OL's opinion, this was the "secondary" aspect) might have something positive about it in relation to Puerto Rico's independence struggle. So much for dialectical analysis.

The fact is that the conference did have two aspects. It is clear from the role played by the Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries, many of the CP-controlled token delegations and international organizations such as the World Peace Council that their objectives were indeed to divert the struggle for Puerto Rican independence into the channels of social pacifism and superpower "detente." And it is also true that these forces wrested certain ideological concessions from the conference in its final political statement. (Because of these concessions, this delegate abstained from voting on the final document.)

But the other aspect of the conference—and any honest analysis of the meeting will readily demonstrate that this was the main aspect—was a ringing affirmation of support for the liberation struggle of the Puerto Rican people in all its aspects. True, the eagle-eyed will find the word "detente" in the conference's final statement. But it is clear from the context—and even clearer from the way in which this was discussed by the Puerto Rican delegation, the U.S. delegation and a number of revolutionary third world delegations (Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, PLO)—that the conference did not express in any measure support for the concept that "detente" was any kind of substitute for armed struggle and national liberation.

Further, it is also clear that the presence of an independent U.S. delegation had a significant effect on the conference's proceedings as well as its final political statement. Indeed the OL's proposal for a boycott, if it had succeeded, would have been a self-fulfilling prophecy. leaving the U.S. delegation in the hands of the revisionists and thereby helping to subdue the militant tone of the conference.

The OL's stance has been reminiscent of the advice a veteran trial attorney once gave an enthusiastic novice. "If the evidence is against you," the old lawyer told his protege, "talk about the law. If the law is against you," he went on, "talk about the evidence. And if both the law and the evidence are against you," he concluded, "pound on the table and yell like hell!"

In its campaign against the strategy of the Puerto Rican independence movement, the OL has been pounding on the table and yelling like hell. But their holier-than-thou charges cannot change either the facts or the fundamental principles involved in the question.

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In Reply, Please Refer to File No. 105-1747

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida September 25, 1975

RE: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA INTERNAL SECURITY - CUBA

The following information was furnished by a Cuban source knowledgeable of Cuban events and individuals, as well as events occurring in Cuba. The information was furnished on September 12, 1975:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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CATIONAL FORM NO. 10 JULY SAME LENGTON TOTALE UNITED STATES G. ERNMENT Lemorandum DIRECTOR, FBI DATE: OUT 20 PM CT **57C ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED** SAC, NEW YORK (109-112) NEREM IS UNCLASSIFIED BATE /0/1/04 # 372226 FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA IS - CUBÁ Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies LHM, dated and captioned as above. Information copy being sent San Juan due to their interest in certain individuals referred to in attached LHM. Dissemination to the appropriate files at the discretion of San Juan. ADMINISTRATIVE Source referred to in attached LHM is who has provided reliable information in the past. New York is opening a dead file on LEADS INDIANAPOLIS AT GARY, INDIANA. Will conductindices, credit and crimina in attempts to further identify. hchecks re Direct further communications in this matter to NYfile 105-39139. ICOD ENCLOS OCT 28 1975 - Bureau (Enc. 5)(RM) - Indianapolis (Enc. 2)(RM) - San' Juan (Enc. 1)(RM)
- New York (105-143954)(INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE) - New York (105-39139)(PSP) - New York ICC AEU, ISS, Stat 100400-4181594 KEROX JPS:dpr WEWREMA 12) F2/0 DEC 9 1975 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION New York, New York

OCT 20 1975

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Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

During the late summer of 1975, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, traveled to Cuba in connection with the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico and, while there, made the following observations:

Individuals arriving in San Juan, Puerto Rico, en route to the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico in Havana, Cuba, from September 5 - 10, 1975, if unfamiliar with the area, went to the travel agency Majes Antillas where they were taken by to the office of the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno (PSF) located on Calle St. John. On September 2, 1975, and (INU) (from the PSP, New York, works at the office of Claridad), among others, were at this office of the PSP.

On September 4, 1975, at about 11:30 a.m., the group bound for the conference assembled at the airport at Isla Verde, PR, for departure on flight 400 of BWIA to Kingston, Jamaica. The group consisted of about 60 individuals of which there were about six couples and about 20 females. About 25 in the group were from the United States (US) and these allegedly stayed with friends or relatives in Puerto Rico while awaiting departure. The remaining individuals were understood to be from Puerto Rico.

The following individuals were amongst the group on the airplane:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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- an individual from New York City (NYC) allegedly living with her brother 1 - an individual who resides on Ocean Parkway in NYC, has worked at a college in NYC as a counselor and was fired **57C** a <u>lawver</u> in Puerto Rico of the PSP and resides at telephone telephone telephone Tenants Council located between 118th and 119th Streets, telephone

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A white male allegedly from New Haven, <u>Connecticut</u>, described as young, light brown hair, tinted glasses, who stayed much to himself.

The alleged son and nephew of

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A white, anglo female who is a reporter for the San Juan Star

The majority of the individuals on the airplane were members of the group going to Cuba. (LNU), who had allegedly been making the trip to Cuba for the second time, pointed out a man dressed in black who she alleged to be a policeman. The man was seen again at the airport in Kingston, at which time various individuals started complaining about him. This man then disappeared.

Forms were passed out on the airplane which were to be filled out for immigration and visas. Upon arrival in Kingston, Jamaica, the group was escorted through immigration and a cursory baggage check. The group was met by the Cuban Ambassador to Jamaica, Mr. Madero, who, along with collected the passports of the group. These were returned about two hours later with the forms that had been filled out earlier attached thereto and stamped with a Cuban seal.

On the same day at about 9:30 p.m. the group boarded a Cubana Airlines twin-engine aircraft for Havana, Cuba. At this time the group was joined by a white male from Canada and two males who called themselves Indians, though not American types.

At about 1:30 a.m. on September 5, 1975, the aircraft landed at Jose Marti Airport in Havana, Cuba.

Upon deplaning, vaccination records and passports were checked. Those not having the proper vaccinations were given them at this time. A cursory baggage check was performed and two buses were then boarded where the passports were collected. The buses were allegedly Argentinian called "Fagazo", air conditioned with a "bar" in the back. Each bus had a guide, one named and the other who took the group on about a one and one-half hour tour of the city of Havana.

They were then taken to the Hotel Nacional where allegedly all the unofficial delegates stayed. Already there were about sixty individuals of a group which had arrived at the end of August.

group Pedro y Flora, also stayed at the hotel and planned to remain in Cuba for two weeks after the termination of the conference.

The rooms in the hotel were comfortable, but had no television, although there was one downstairs in the lobby. Group members did not have to pay for any meals. Money was exchanged at the rateof 83 centavos per dollar at the hotel and numbered receipt was given to be returned in the event a redemption of excess pesos was desired. A record of expenses was to be noted.

The official delegates were staying at the Hotel Havana Libre. Among them were

Only the official delegates were allowed to participate in the conference. The remainder were taken on tours to various locations on the island. Many in the unofficial delegation had apparently been lead to believe otherwise and complained about not being allowed to attend. Only on the day prior to departure, September 9, 1975, did all the official and unofficial delegates get together for the dedication of a new school named

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At this time, Fidel Castro arrived in his personal helicopter to make a speech of dedication, along with President Osvaldo Dorticos and the individual in charge of the conference. The speeches concerned primarily an official affirmation, no matter what the cost, of support by the Cuban Government for the independence movement in Puerto Rico. A large crowd estimated at a few thousand were in attendance and no extensive security precautions were apparent.

It was later learned that the Cuban and Soviet Governments will present in December, 1975, an official resolution before the United Nations in support of the independence movement and plan a course of action if the resolution is not accepted by the United States. It was also announced that a foreign country had contributed \$10,000 to the PSP during the course of the conference in support of the independence movement. Radio announcements concerning the conference occurred on a daily basis. Castro and salso had a private meeting concerning the matter of independence for Puerto Rico.

Prior to making excursions around the island, the group was warned about the "Gusanos," those who speak out against the Castro regime, although they were permitted to speak with anyone and go almost anywhere they pleased.

Military or police presence on the island was not obvious. There were few uniformed individuals guarding Castro as he gave his speech, although it was understood that numerous individuals were unofficially guarding him.

Various individuals met on the street talked freely of the alleged air defenses and mine fields maintained along the entire coast of Cuba. These, including aircraft hangers, were allegedly covered, camoflaged and capable of being opened at a moments notice, or located in caves. Many stated "we are ready" and had the apparent fear that the US might invade the island at any time. The "Fortaleza" in Havanawas the only military installation to be observed and then entrance was not permitted.

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The group was taken on tours to a military school named Camelitos in Cienfuegos, and a tire, cement, toilet seat, shoe and carton factories. They also visited a psychiatric hospital where the primary method of therapy appeared to be physical activity such as making shoes, chairs, etc.

The presence of Russians on the island was obvious. Cubans referred to them as "gente de la Union Sovietica" (People of the Soviet Union) or "los tecnicos" (the techicians) and not Russians. Many Cubans stated that the "tecnicos" actually controlled every phase of Cuban life. They are in the highest positions in the government and management with the Cubans acting only as figureheads. Comments were heard that Castro had sold Cuba out to the Russians.

The Russians have their own houses and live in a separate settlement in Matanzas, on a hill near Casa Rio. They earn the highest salaries, have the greatest amount of personal luxuries and own the newest cars.

There did not appear to be anyone living in abject poverty, although luxuries were few primarily because of scarcity and price. A refrigerator, for example, would cost about \$800, a table model black and white television between \$300 and \$400. Certain foods were comparitively cheap, for instance, one dozen eggs for eight cents, one pound of sugar for eight cents, one pound of coffee for six cents. Medicines in general appeared to be somewhat scarce. Those who did not have a job or could not work received a monthly booklet or "libreta," also known as "libre." This allowed an individual to obtain a limited amount of certain basic foodstuffs.

The majority of Cubans appeared to live in relatively new, five-story apartment houses. These types of dwellings were being constructed as a result of a government resettlement

plan by which individual families were uprooted from their original personally-owned, single and multi-family dwellings in outlying areas into developments they themselves were forced to construct. These developments had the stated advantage of immediately available medical services, shops, schools and other services. Rent for these facilities was six percent of one's wages. Further compensation was not offered these families for their vacated premises. The land was then leveled by the government for redevelopment.

Almost every building appeared to have a large water tank on the roof. The water in these tanks was changed every two days. During the change of water, water was not available for use. This water was allegedly extracted from sea water and tasted as though it had a high saline content.

There were few automobiles on the roads. Those that were appeared to be of Argentinian or Soviet make or to be the older American cars that had been there before the revolution. There were even fewer trucks, however. Buses were numerous and also appeared to be of Argentinian make. One could take a bus anywhere in the City of Havana for about five cents.

A change concerning the present marriage laws will soon be put into effect. It will allow a twelve-year-old girl to marry with the permission of her father. Marriage for the procreation of children is greatly encouraged. One of the reasons given for this is that it is much easier to indoctrinate the young to think and act the way the system demands. Upon getting married, a couple is given by the state a two-week, all expense paid vacation. Thereafter, they can both continue to work and study at state expense.

Cabarets in Havana remained open until about 3 or 4 a.m. Shows were free, but drinks were paid for by the patron.

Prostitution is illegal and allegedly non-existent. a couple meets or is introduced by friends and desires a degree of privacy, there exist 'hotels on the outskirts of Havana called "Posadas." These are also used as inexpensive, overnight accommodations for those who cannot afford the more expensive hotels in the center of the city. The couple usually must wait in a line called the "cola" for a room they can have at the rate of \$2 for three hours. Couples must wait their turn in the lobby until the ringing of a bell signals the availability of a room. One can also send down for drinks. The women state they are not allowed to accept any payment for services or companionship, but in some cases, and when they are certain no reprisals from the authorities will occur, they, just as other individuals who perform services for which tips might be expected, will accept certain amounts of money if it is offered. This might create problems, however, if the government found out in that there is a strict accountability and control on one's income and savings.

There did not appear to be any overt signs of segregation of any sector of the population. Besides Russians, there were numerous Spaniards, Chinese, Japanese and other ethnic groups visible throughout the city. Many were seen departing the Hotel Nacional for work daily at 8 a.m.

The Baptist, Pentacostal and Catholic Churches still appeared to be permitted by the state, although not many people were observed to openly practice these religions. The regime did, however, appear to vigorously oppose the Jehovah's Witnesses.

There appeared to be a general acceptance and contentment with the regime, primarily by those who had little prior to the revolution and by the young who know nothing other than that which is taught in the schools. Comments were heard to be made by the very young to the effect that the Puerto Ricans should react to the Americans the way the Cubans had, and that is to throw them out with armed revolution.

Certain individuals, however, gave the impression of dissatisfaction with the regime, primarily those who had property and stature prior to the revolution. Others voiced dissatisfaction with the strict controls the regime placed on personal freedoms. Although the vocalizing of these complaints is not outlawed, any assembling to protest or discuss is strictly forbidden. Certain individuals who continue to oppose the regime continue to be arrested and serve jail sentences.

On the evening of September 9, 1975, the majority of the delegation departed Cuba. The remainder allegedly departed the next day, September 10. Departure from Kingston, Jamaica, was the next day, September 11.

### APPENDIX:

# PARTIDO SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUENO (PSP) (SOCIALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO)

The PSP is a Marxist-Leninist organization which advocates total independence for Puerto Rico from the United States. PSP was founded in Puerto Rico in November, 1971, at the Eighth Annual Convention of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) when the membership of the latter organization voted to change its name to PSP.

The PSP openly supports the revolutionary government of Cuba and maintains permanent representation in Havana. The official PSP publication, "Claridad", has frequently claimed the right of PSP to use violence to accomplish its revolutionary objectives.

# <u>APPENDIX</u>

release to you.

### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION **FOIPA** DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

:OTAS

DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM:

SAC, NEW YORK (189-112)

ATTN:

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Teletype 🤫 🗸

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA; IS - CUBA.

RENYTEL TO BUREAU, NOVEMBER 4, 1975.

ON NOVEMBER 4, 1975, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS DISCUSSIONER HAS DEVELOPED IN LAST MINUTE NEGOTIATIONS TO SEND A MAJOR LEAGUE ALL STAR TEAM TO CUBA. THE OFFICE OF THE BASEBALL COMMISSIONER HAS JUST BEEN ADVISED BY THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT THAT THE INVITATION FOR A MAJOR LEAGUE ALL STAR TEAM TO VISIT CUBA IN MARCH, 1976, HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN. SOURCE DOES NOT KNOW REASON FOR CUBAN DECISION IN THIS MATTER.

**ADMINISTRATIVE** 

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS

REG.16. 109-12-210-680

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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 PETIFICAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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TELETYPE

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM:

SÁC, NEW YORK (109-112)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREOF IS UNCLASSIFIED TATE MAIN BYTTOIR

ATTN:

INTD

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA: IS - CUBA.

ON NOVEMBER 4, 1975, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT BOWIE KUHN, COMMISSIONER OF BASEBALL, WILL SHORTLY ANNOUNCE THAT A MAJOR LEAGUE ALL STAR TEAM WILL TRAVEL TO CUBA IN 1976 AND PLAY TWO EXHIBITION GAMES. THE TEAM WILL BE HEADED UP BY

**b7C** 

Assoc Dir. Dep.-A.D.-Ada

Asst. Dir.: Admin. .. Comp Syst

Ident. Inspection Intelt. Laboratory Plan & Eval

Dep.A.D.-Inv.

Ext. Affairs

Files & Com Gen. Inv.

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Telephone k

IT WILL FLY TO

HAVANA ON MARCH 19, PLAY ONE GAME ON MARCH 20 AND THE SECOND GAME ON MARCH 21. IT WILL RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES ON MARCH 22, 1976.

THE SOURCE STATED THAT THE TRIP HAS RECEIVED UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE APPROVAL.

**ADMINISTRATIVE** 

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS

WINT 67D REC-1/09-12-210-6814

PAGE TWO NY 109-112

WHO REQUESTED THAT HIS IDENTITY BE CONCEALED AND THAT
DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION BE WITHHELD UNTIL A PUBLIC
ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE. HE VOICED CONCERN REGARDING POSSIBILITY
OF RETALIATION BY ANTI-CASTRO COMMUNITY.

END.

AJN FBIHO CLR TU

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PAR-1 (Rev. 2-26-70) OPTIONAL FORM NO. TO MAY 1942 EDITION GSA GEN, REG. NO. 27 UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MemorandumDirector, FBI ( 109-12-210 TO Attention: . 2 Legat, Paris ( 163-765-263 ) ( C **FROM** 57C SUBJECT: IS - CUBA ĭ On -11/13/75 dissemination was made of pertinent portions of Bureau letter to Paris dated 11/3/75 to: the enclosed information was received from: (٤) Remarks: £292221 REC-9 109-12-210-6822 THE INFORMATION CONTAINED Herein is unclassified except MNOV 20 1975 Bureau DECLASSIFY ON: 25X3.3 #392226 l-Paris MGZ:kvw (2)

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## 250-MILE TRIPS

## ✓ Surprise U.S. Shift In Cuba Travel Ban

By Jeremiah O'Leary Star-News Staff Writer

The United States, in a major gesture toward normalization of relations with Cuba, notified the Cuban mission to the United Nations over the weekend that its members will no longer be, restricted from traveling more than 25 miles from New York.

Cuban Ambassador Ricardo Alafon was notified by the U.S. mission to the U.N. that Washington will now permit Cuban diplomats in New York to travel 250 miles without hindrance. Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett, assigned to the U.N. under Ambassador John Scali, confirmed that the order was received from the State Department late Friday and was relayed to the Cuban mission at once.

The decision to ease travel restrictions on the Cuban diplomats was also confirmed here at the highest level of the government but there was no immediate official explanation of the gesture. Officials in Washington, however, pointed out that the new 250-mile limit on travel will permit Cuban diplomats at the U.N. to journey freely to Washington which they have been unable to do for 14 years since diplomatic relations were broken between Washington and

ASKED TO EXPLAIN why the State Department decided to lift the travel barriers against the official representatives of Prime Minister Fidel Castro, Bennett said, "I don't know. The message came in at the end of the day Friday. I intend to try to find out Monday morning.

But other American officials indicated the relaxation of the travel ban on Cuban diplomats is only the first of what may be a series of actions that can only be interpreted as the reflection of a policy decision by President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger toward normalization of relations with the Castro regime.

It is now likely, these officials said, that American-owned automobile factories in Canada will soon be given difficial U.S. permission to sell vehides and parts in the increasingly lucrative Cuban market. Such sales have generally been forbidden under the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act,

with some exceptions, as part of the long-standing U.S. policy of trying to isolate Cuba politically and economically from the rest of the Western Hemisphere.

RECENTLY, the Treasury and State Departments permitted the Canadian factories of the American-owned Litton Industries firm to make a major sale of furniture to Cuba. In a much larger deal, the United States last year granted permission for the big three automakers - Ford, Chrysler and General Motors — to sell more than 40,000 vehicles to Cuba from their plants in Argentina in a multimillion-dollar transaction.

There have been other signs recently that the United States has reassessed its policy toward Cuba and has decided it had better adjust to the new realities.

The U.S. delegation to the Organization of American States in December joined all the member states in approving a change in the Rio Treaty so that the punitive mea ures against Cuba can be rescinded by a simple majority instead of a twothirds vote. It was the two-thirds quirement that defeated a Latin move to lift the sanctions against Cuba at the November meeting in Quito of the OAS. With the United States abstaining, the Quito conference attained a simple majority but fell short of the necessary 14 votes to lift the sanctions.

The failure of the United State: as well as the hardest liners among the anti-Communist Latin states to oppose the change to a simple majority requirement, is a clear indication that Washington and the right-wing nations see the handwriting on the wall. The trend is indisputable that, for a variety of reasons, the solid wall of OAS ostracism of Cuba no longer exists.

THE ECONOMIC and political isolation of Cuba never worked very well. Mexico from the outset maintained relations with Havana despite the OAS mandate that relations be severed. Canada and America's allies in NATO never ceased trade or soliti-

See CUBAN A-6

ASSOC. DIr
Dep. AD Adm
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## CUBANS $^{ee}$

Continued From 1-1 cal ties with Castro. In recent years, the OAS phalanx has crumbled badly with restoration of relations with Cuba on a unilateral basis by Chile, Peru, Argentina and probable restoration by Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia and perhaps Panama.

The accepted realities

today are these:

• Castro is no longer regarded as a menacing exporter of Marxist revolution by states which 10 years ago were in mortal fear of Cuban subversion.

Most hemisphere nations want normalized relations with Cuba and the issue is a divisive one in the region to the extent that most governments want to eliminate it.

 Many of the hemispheric republics, noting the enormous increase in trade between Cuba and both Mexico and Argentina over the past year, want to get involved in this trade especially since high sugar prices have converted Cuba into a well-heeled market for a multitude of export items.

 Even the businessmen of southern Florida anticipate an early restoration of trade relations with Cuba and are quietly preparing for early resumption of commerce between the United States and the island only 90 miles away.

There is no evident means for Cuban reciprocity to the U.S. lifting of travel restrictions on Castro's U.N. diplomats since the United States has no relations and no embassy in Havana. The decision, which could only have been made with the concurrence of Kissinger, therefore has the appearance of a unilateral gesture.

EXPERIENCED observers believe Kissinger authorized the gesture as a means of trying to ease the strained relations Washington is having with many Latin nations because of the restrictions against Venezuela and Ecuador in the U.S. Trade Bill.

But it is manifestly a gesture and now the hemisphere's diplomats will be watching to see how Castro reacts. It is puzzling that neither Alarcon in New York nor Castro in Havanahas made public the American gesture although they have had it since Friday.

afternoon.

But any way the gesture is examined it represents an American concession and probably a signal of more to come. Until Castro speaks out, the hemisphere will not know whether the Cubans are about to come back into the Western Hemisphere family as a full economic and political particpant.

No matter how Havana reacts, it should be a long time before the United States and Cuba resume full trade and diplomatic relations. There are restrictive aws that only Congress can

change.

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FILE NO.

109-12-210

VOLUME NO.

11.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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UNITED STATES GOVI | MENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-210)

SAC. MIAMI (100-13077) (C)

TO

SAC, MIAMI (100-13077) (C)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

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OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

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OF

On 9/24/75, who has furnished reliable of information in the past, advised that there was a conference of Latin American and Caribbean area Communist Parties held in Havana, Cuba, during June, 1975. This conference was attended by various top Communist Party leaders and delegations from around the Caribbean and Latin American countries. These Communist Party representatives had approved plans and policies regarding the international and Latin American situation.

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There is enclosed for the information of the Bureau a Xerox copy of this 45-page document which purports to be the Declaration of the Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean meeting at Havana, Cuba, 6/13/75.

America and the Caribbean meeting at Havana, Cuba, RECORDED

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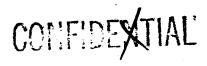
5 1976 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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# UNITED TATES DEPARTMENT OF JUNICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. 105-1747

Miami, Florida

DEC 2 2 1975

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA INTERNAL SECURITY - CUBA

The following information was furnished by a Cuban source on November 5, 1975.

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from Radio Havana, Cuban shortwave broadcasts. He also "uses newspaper and periodicals concerning Cuba for some of the material.

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Source, whose identity is concealed herein, has furnished reliable information in the past, except where otherwise noted.

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| Date | 1000

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#### - 11/5/75

#### Re: BANKING CONGRESS IN HAVANA

In 1950, the National Bank of Cuba was founded. It was a solid, well regarded banking institution, with a good reputation in international finance.

On October 13, 1960, the Revolutionary Government decided to nationalize the National Bank of Cuba and the foreign bank. On that date, 362 foreign banks were taken over.

In 1975, they are celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the foundation of the National Bank of Cuba, and the 15th anniversary of its nationalization, along with the nationalization of foreign banks.

On October 13, 1975, the Cuban government held a meeting in the Lazaro Pena Theater of the Confederation of Cuban workers. President OSVALDO PORTICOS (TORRADO presided and present; along with 236 bank employees.

The International Banking Congress began in Havana on October 27, 1975, and ended on October 30th.

The Cuban government announced that at least 300 foreign bankers and financiers came to Havana for this event, representing 60 nations.

There was a large group at the Congress representing France, the French government.

The Cuban government hopes that the Congress will support the plans of Cuba, to be put into effect in the Cuban Bank.

They paid tribute to the memory of Major ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA, who was the first President of the National Bank of Cuba, after the triumph of the Revolution, and who insisted that the banks be nationalized on October 30, 1960.

Both President DORTICOS TORRADO and in their speeches on October 13th, emphasized the importance of nationalizing foreign banks to the Cuban Revolution, at a time when the people of Cuba were being attacked from within and without. The nationalization of the banks marked the entrance of Cuba into a Socialist nation.

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#### 11/5/75

Re: LOAN IN AMOUNT OF \$136 MILLION, ARRANGED IN HAVANA BY CUBAN NATIONAL BANK AND 16 FOREIGN BANKS

From October 27 - 31, 1975, an International Banking Congress was held in Havana to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the National Bank of Cuba and the 15th anniversary of the nationalization of all foreign banks operating in Cuba, in October, 1960.

Congress, the Cuban government announced that the National Bank of Cuba and a consortium made up of 16 foreign banks, among them banks from the Soviet Union, Mestern Europe, Canada, Japan, the Arab nations and various Socialist nations, (unnamed), plus the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, established by the member nations of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (CAME), with the exception of the U.S., agreed to a loan treaty of over 350 million German marks, equivalent to 136 million dollars. This money is to be used to finance various development projects during the next five years.

Mr. MARIO CARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI, Cuban Ambassador to Japan, and JULIO EMPERATORI, Vice President of the National Bank of Cuba, were appointed by the Cuban government to take care of the foreign bankers while they were in Havana.

#### November 5, 1975

Re: TWO PRINTING PLANTS BEING BUILT IN ORIENTE PROVINCE

On November 1, 1975, the Cuban government announced that they are presently building two large printing plants in Oriente Province. These plants will have a capacity of 50 million books per year, between the two plants.

One of the plants is being built with East German technical advice, and it is to be located in Guantanamo. This plant is expected to produce 20 million volumes per year.

The other plant, being built with Swedish help, is going up in Palma Soriano. It is expected to produce 30 million volumes per year.

It is to be assumed that the main purpose of these plants will be to produce Communist propaganda which is constantly flooding Latin America from Cuba, through the Cuban Embassies, or through visiting intellectuals or sportsmen.

#### November 5, 1975

#### · Re: CUBAN GOVERNMENT RENEWS ATTACKS ON CIA

At this time, when the U.S. Congress is investigating CIA participation in the overthrow of President ALLENDE's government in Chile, the Cuban government has opened another campaign against CIA.

The following is a summary of information recently, broadcast by Cuba throughout Latin America:

October 20 - 1975 - In a News Bulletin at 7:00 a.m., they stated that the religious sects are now being used for criminal purposes by CIA in Peru. According to information published in Lima, they are carrying out a door to door campaign to convert the Peruvians.

October 20, 1975 - Same bulletin as above

The U.S. Council of Churches has demanded that the U.S. government recognize the sovereign rights of Panama over the Canal Zone.

The U.S. churchmen have urged the U.S. Congress to support negotiation to bring about new relations between both nations.

October 22, 1975 - Information Program from the Ministry of Interior, 6:45 a.m.

Half the American diplomats abroad are really CIA agents.

These provocative diplomats move in diplomatic circles both as employees of the State Department and as civilians working for the U.S. Department of Defense.

The CIA sends its agents to foreign countries disguised as churchmen, insurance agents, newsmen and businessmen.

All cultural and sports activities are also used by American spies as a cover for their activities.

The Colombian House of Representatives has shown

how the so-called Summer Language Institute was used by Yankee spies to carry out their activities against Colombia.

#### November 5, 1975

Re: FIRST MEETING OF CARIBBEAN COMMITTEE FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION, HELD IN HAVANA

On Friday, October 31, 1975, at the Hotel Atlantico on the beach at Santa Maria del Mar, near Havana, where the Cuban government has held various international events, the First Meeting of the Caribbean Committee on Development and Cooperation, called by the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), was opened.

Some nations sent official representatives, while others sent only observers. They are listed below:

#### Official Representatives

Bahamas
Guyana
Haiti
Jamaica
Granada
Dominican Republic
Trinidad-Tobago
Cuba

#### **Observers**

Dutch Antilles
Belize
Associated West Indian States
Representatives of the UH

Cuba officially invited Secretary General KURT
MALDHEIM of the UN to attend this CEPAL meeting. He
was expected to arrive in Havana on Sunday, November 2,
1975, by eir, accompanied by his two personal aides, N.Y. G.J.
PERDIHAND MAYHOFER, of Austria, and DON THOMAS, of the U.S.,
plus his Press Secretary, RUDOLF STANDIHAR, of Yugoslavia, N.J.
and DIEGO CORDOVEZ, of Ecuador, Secretary of the Economic
and Social Council.

-s-

Later, it was announced that the UN Secretary General was forced to suspend his trip to Havana, because of the serious situation in the Spanish Sahara, which required his presence at the UN. It is not known if any of the members of his delegation did go to Havana.

The Dominican Republic sent to Cuba as members of its delegation MILTCA MESINA, head of the Foreign Trade Office in the Foreign Ministry, and MARINO ALCANTARA, an official of the Dominican Center to Promote Exports. Dam Rep. Cuba.

The Cuban delegation to this meeting was made up of CARLOS MAFAEL RODRIGUEZ, Assistant Prime Minister of Cuba, HECTOR RODRIGUEZ LLOMPAR, Vice President of the Cuban National Commission on Economic and Scientific Collaboration, and various high officials of the Cuban Foreign Ministry and the National Bank, whose names were not published.

Mr. RICARDO ALARCON CUESADA, permanent Cubah Ny representative to the UN, who was in Havana, was appointed by the regime to welcome the members of the foreign delegations when they arrived at Jose Marti Airport, Havana, to attend the conference.

# November 5, 1975

## Re: CUBAN DELEGATION VISITS JAMAICA

On Thursday, October 23, 1975, the Annual Conference of the Popular Nationalist Party of Jamaica opened in Kingston, Jamaica. The meeting was to have ended on October 19, 1975. (sic). The Cuban government was invited to send representatives to this meeting.

Major MANUEL PINEIRO DOSADA, aka Red Beard, Chief of the Intelligence Department for Latin America, headed the Cubah delegation to this event.

Various leaders of the National Popular Party of Jamaica, headed by ARNOLD KELTRAN, who has made various visits to Cuba, were at the airport in Kingston to welcome the Cuban delegation.

The presence of Major MANUEL PINEIRO LOSADA, the top intelligence official for Latin America in Cuba, Leads one to suspect that they were going to discuss matters related to the constant acts of subversion which the Cuban government is sponsoring and directing in Latin America.

## November 5, 1975

Re: NAMES AND POSITIONS OF OFFICERS IN THE CUBAN ARMED FORCES

CELIO AVILA TRUJILLO, First Major. Chief of the Eastern Army
LORENZO GARCIA FRIAS, First Major, Chief of Combat Training
in the Army
MARIO ALVARELLO GARCIA, Major, member of the judicial branch
and Judge Advocate in the Armed Forces

JUAN VPUJOL SANCHEZ, Major, Director of the artillery school "Camilo Cienfuegos," of the Armed Forces

AGUSTIN RODRIGUEZ MURI, Major, Chief of the National Police SIXTO MATISTA KANTANA, Major, Chief, Political Section, Western Army

PEDRO RODRIGUEZ MERALTA, Major, Chief of the Frontier Guards and International Troops of the Cuban Army

FERNANDO NOVO ALVAREZ, Major, engineer, Transport and Tank Headquarters, Cuban Army

JULIO FERNANDEZ PEREZ, Major, Chief of Rear Guard, Cuban Army.

JOSE PALACIOS SUAREZ, Major, Director of the General Antonio Maceo Weapons School, Cuban Army

TOMAS BENITEZ, Major, Chief of Antiaircraft Defense, Cuban

LUIS SERRANO REREZ, Major, Chief of Cultural Section, Political Headquarters, Cuban Army

ORLANDO DIAZ PEREZ, Major, officer in the Artillery School, Cuban Army

LAZARO FIGUERAS RODRIGUEZ, Major, Artillery Corps, Cuban Army

LUIS GARCIN GUTIERREZ, Major, Chief of Identity Card Section, Cuban Army

GERARDO ALFONSO BLANCO, Major, Official at the Technological Institute, Unit 3234, Cuban Army

JOSE/LAVAR MARTINEZ, Major, Official at the Technological Institute, Unit 3234, Cuban Army

NELSON CUTIERREZ, Captain, assigned to the Ministry of Interior

FERMIN RODRIGUEZ, Captain, Chief, Political Section of the Labor Youth Army

ENRIQUE RODRIGUET OCHOA, Captain, officer in the Army Construction Corps

EVELIO RAMIREZ KINDELAN, Navy Captain and substitute for political work in the Navy. Visited the U.S. this year as a member of an official lelegation.

# 11/5/75

Re: VISIT OF TWO CUBAN DOCTORS TO DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

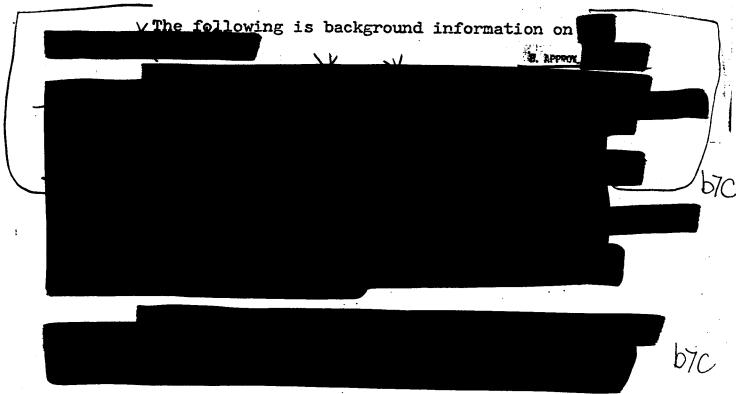
The Cuban government will hold the 8TH LATIN AMERICAN CONGRESS OF OBSTETRICIANS AND GYNECOLOGISTS in Havana, January 25 - 31, 1976.

Dr. ORLANDO RIGOR RICARDO, a gynecologist, is in charge of organizing the congress.

Two Cuban physicians, Dr. PEDRO ANTONIO VALDES, VIVO and Dr. ROBERTO RODRIGUEZ CASTRO, recently visited the Dominican Republic to coordinate matters connected with the Congress.

Cuba. Ref.

Both these doctors had also recently visited Venezuela, representing Cuba at a medical congress held in Caracas.



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

FRIE POLICAL MATTER

DATE: December 10. 1475

Cuba

12-11-1975

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# Latin America

Vol VI No 234 Supp 16

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#### CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY DRAFT PROGRAM PLATFORM

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 26 Oct 75 Supplement pp 1-32 WA

[Text of draft Cuban Communist Party Program Platform to be presented in December, 1975, to first party congress for approval -- enumeration throughout as published]

[Text] 000

#### Preamble

The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, gathered in plenary session, hereby approves this Program Platform which takes up in a general manner the final and immediate objectives of our revolutionary process; it also spells out the basic criteria regarding the historical, economic and political foundations of the Revolution, its character, ultimate purposes, and tasks; it outlines the goals to be attained and charts the roads to be followed in the different spheres of activity to attain the principal objective of the current phase of the Cuban Revolution: the construction of socialism.

This Platform must be the guiding document for the entire work of the party over the next several years, its principal ideological instrument and its battle flag, and it will serve as a basis for the work which the Central Committee of the PCC [Communist Party of Cuba] will have to develop during the drafting of the final program for the construction of socialism which will be presented to, and discussed and approved by the Second Congress of our party.

#### First Part

Foundation, Character, and Work of the Cuban Revolution

001

#### I. Historical Foundation of the Cuban Revolution

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 came in response not only to an exigency springing from the semicolonial conditions under which our people suffered for almost 57 years in the subjugated Republic but also to an objective of the Cuban nation ever since colonial times, an objective which had been frustrated after our wars of independence by the collusion between U.S. imperialism and the Spanish-American oligarchy.

002

The Cuban nationality formation process had already matured around 1867, and there had been an extraordinary aggravation both in the conflict between the colony and the home country, which was the primary aspect here, and in the conflict existing between the development requirements of the rising production forces and the persistence of the still predominant production relations based on slavery.

The slave-owning bourgeois class faced a prefound crisis for which there was no solution under Spanish rule. On the one hand, the 1857 worldwide economic crisis and later on the crisis of 1866 already had powerful effects on the country's economy, causing the drop in sugar prices as well as a rise in interest rates and the almost total elimination of credits, at a moment when an intensive investment process was required to modernize sugar production in technical terms. On the other hand, the Grown did not hesitate to raise taxes, using Cuba as a source of treasury revenue and a market for fabulous commercial profits through a rigid system of customs tariff restrictionism—all of which led to the failure of sugar and coffee plantations. That situation and that policy stifled the island's independent economic development and frustrated its industrial growth. Cubans moreover were practically deprived of all political rights and lacked the most elementary democratic freedoms.

But it was the peasants, the craftsmen, and the rest of the urban petty bourgeoisie, the wage workers, and, above all, the vast mass of 360,000 slaves who suffered most from Spain's economic exploitation and political oppression.

The biggest beneficiaries of this pauperizing colonial policy were: the Spanish Crown, represented by the leaders of the political and military apparatus on the island; the commercial importer bourgeoisie, made up almost exclusively of Spaniards; and the entire scourge of civil servants, clerical employees, and others who lived on the celony's budget and on the heavy taxes that burdened the Spanish-American producers.

003

Finding that the home country responded to each reform demand by stepping up its exploitation and oppression, the most radical, advanced, and patriotic sectors among the rich Cubans realised that the only solution favorable to their interests—coinciding with the general interest of the nation—was independence for Cuba and that this could not be achieved without a patriotic liberation war and without the abolition of slavery whose victims had during earlier decades fought with so much blood—shed and heroism for their liberty.

Under the leadership of the most radical representatives of the Spanish-American landowners, the first great war for our national liberation was thus launched in 1868; the most outstanding figures in that war were Carlos Manuel de Cespedes and Ignacio Agramonte; this war was supported by the other classes and strata who on their shoulders bore the burden of colonial and social speliation, primarily the vast mass of peasants and craftsmen in the eastern and central parts of the island, made up mostly of blacks and free mulattos, and by the mass of slaves who won their freedom as a result of the war itself.

After a self-sacrificing 10-year struggle--which led to the conselidation of the Guban nation, which served as a school for revolutionaries in future struggles and which contributed to the abolition of slavery in 1886--and not before the manifestation of tenacious resistance to a peace without independence, through the heroic Baragua protest promoted by the mulatto peasant Antonio Nacco, representative of the popular classes, who had played a growing role in this emancipation effort, until they assumed its leadership during its final phase, there came a rather shaky truce which was interrupted by some attempts at rebellion that were frustrated and which was then followed by the well-organized insurrection of 1895.

004

At the start of this new phase of warfare in our independence struggle, the primary conflict continued to be the same as in 1868: the colony vs the mother country; and the immediate objective likewise was the same: to win national independence. But the class structure and contradictions within Cuban society had undergone significant changes and the program objectives of a social character were different, much broader and much more advanced.

The vast mass of big landowners had come to ruin for two main reasons: the war, especially in the eastern provinces, and the concentration and centralization of production, accompanied by an intensive process of confiscations and embargos, primarily in the sugar industry. Some of those landowners who also owned sugar mills were now put in a situation where they were dependent upon the cane growers or they even became medium-level farmers, while those who survived the ruin were concentrated primarily in the country's western part and managed to increase their economic power.

The workers, particularly in the agriculture and livestock sector, had experienced a noteworthy numerical growth upon the abolition of slavery and had been developing their class consciousness; along with industrial growth in Havana, the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat assumed a certain importance primarily in that province. The ranks of the peasantry, the craftsmen, professional men, and the rest of the urban petty bourgeoisie were also swelled quite considerably.

005

Jose Marti--who was the soul of the new emancipation war--devoted his initial efforts to the unification of all classes and sectors interested in the goal of national liberation. He rallied the Cubans who had emigrated abroad, he organised Cuba's first revolutionary party to fight for independence and for a democratic republic, and he worked out an arsenal of advanced ideas which had to serve as a banner not only for the revolutionaries of his time but also for those of generations yet to come.

The leadership of the new war was made up of representatives of the most radical sectors of Cuban society's middle classes, identified with the general interests of the nation and the working classes and strata of the people. In connection with the goal of independence, the principal leaders now no longer proposed to liberate the country from Spanish colonial rule but also from the threat coming from the powerful push of U.S. imperialism. In economic, social, and political terms, these men were now fighting to end dependence on a single product and a single market, to eliminate the tremendous economic inequalities, to promote racial equality and the establishment of a just and democratic republic.

The indigenous bourgeoisie and the big landowners, as a class, supported the independence movement and tried to work out a compromise with the home country's government on the basis of autonomy so as to prevent the possible triumph of the popular forces in the war. In contrast to what had happened during the earlier war and in spite of its still rather small numbers, the working class now played an important role, primarily among emigres. Back on the island, the First Workers Congress agreed to come out in favor of national independence. Abroad, among the emigres, the workers constituted the bulk of the Cuban Revolutionary Party and the main support of its

struggle; this struggle of course was also influenced in important aspects by the thinking of Marti. The Cuban proletarian emigre nuclei had already acquired an appreciable level of organization and class consciousness and its leaders included some who had embraced Marxist ideas, such as the tobacco worker Carlos Balino, Marti's companion in the founding of the party and in revolutionary activities. The peasants and the farm laborers--made up mostly of former slaves--constituted the bulk of the Liberation Army.

006

In spite of the victorious campaigns of Cuban arms, this war however did not result in true national independence or even in the establishment of a Just and democratic republic for Which our Cuban people had been fighting. Our people was robbed of its victory by the intervention of the U.S. imperialism whose threat had been denounced already by the most clear-sighted leaders, primarily Jose Marti.

The dominant interests in the United States had always had the ambition of possessing Cuba. They tried to acquire it by various means, including purchase of Cuba from Spain, although without success. They began to develop their commercial relations with Cuba and in 1878 they already controlled our foreign trade. That time marked the beginning of investments in Cuba. In 1897 they once again negotiated for the purchase of Cuba with the Spanish home country; in 1898 they sabotaged the [battle-ship] "Maine" to justify the intervention of their armed forces in the conflict, thus giving rise to the first imperialist war; finally there came the Treaty of Paris worked out behind the backs of the Cubans who had fought for their independence over a period of 30 years; this war and this treaty resulted in Cuba's being handed over by Spain together with Puerto Rice and the Philippines.

007

U.S. military occupation offered the Yankee monopolies the possibility of carrying out their aspirations to domination over the island. Two of the most radical leaders had departed during the war--Marti and Maceo--and the liberation army had been demobilised; in spite of manifestations of resistance from our people, imperialist intervention prevailed and the former Spanish colony was turned into a semicolony of the United States. During the 4 years of occupation, the foundations were laid for that change, and when the Yankee troops left the island, they assured themselves of their legal right to intervene in Cuba whenever they considered it convenient through the constitutional amendment called the Platt Amendment. Thus began, in 1902, the history of almost 57 years of subjugated Republic during which the United States exercised real control over our economic, political, and cultural life, penetrated the entire field of education, dominated the propaganda agencies, and developed a systematic effort simed at distorting and deforming the consciousness of our people.

Capitalist production conditions developed but under conditions of control by and subordination to the interests of the U.S. monopolies; although this did lead to a certain growth of our production forces, this nevertheless also signified the consolidation and accentuation of the distorted structure of our economy, the accentuation of underdevelopment, in other words, conditions which generated the premises for the prompt manifestation of the contradiction between the requirements of the development of the production forces and the production relations—which were now of the capitalist type with semifeudal features—and the other characteristics which those relationships assumed in countries ruled by imperialism.

800

The distorting action resulting from imperialist penetration in Cuba was the framework within which the country's various social classes and their historical positions developed throughout the entire semicolonial Republic.

To be able to push its economic penetration and its control over the country's political life, imperialism needed the collaboration of classes and groups through which it could exercise its rule. That role as a political instrument was played by a trilogy of social forces which constituted the ruling oligarchy: the big landowners, the big sugar bourgeoisie, and the big commercial-important bourgeoisie. The interests of these three forces were indissolubly linked to imperialism, and to maintain their control it was indispensable for them to prevent the liquidation of big landownership, the country's industrial development, the diversification of its economy, and any other change in our semicolonial status. Hence, the retrograde role and national betrayal which they perpetrated permanently.

The non-sugar industrial bourgeoisie--which we might refer to here as our "national bourgeoisie"--was objectively interested in breaking up the semicolonial structure to achieve its development. But its few attempts along those lines were frustrated and definitely lacked economic strength and political courage; this group therefore did not even timidly play a progressive historical role.

The richest sector of the agricultural bourgeoisie was partly interlocked with the ruling oligarchy or tied its interests to those of the latter, while the medium-level agrarian bourgeoisie suffered vicissitudes similar to those of the non-sugar industrial bourgeoisie.

009

The vast mass of poor and medium farmers developed under the characteristic conditions of a colonial country, with strong semifeudal bonds; most of them lived in conditions of permanent poverty. The degree of exploitation to which that mass of peasants was subjected and the economic insecurity under which even those who owned their own place of land had to live created a ferment of rebellion among it and forced it into an occasionally violent confrontation with the ruling oligarchy.

The working class achieved noteworthy numerical, organisational and political growth starting with the century's third decade. In keeping with its historical role, it constituted our society's most revolutionary class and the principal base for the struggle aimed at achieving the radical changes demanded by our economic, social and political reality.

The urban petit bourgeoisie--which in Cuba had assumed considerable size--permanently suffered from the consequences of exploitation by the oligarchy and imperialism. It was, overall, very sensitive to our country's great ills and, in spite of its natural hesitations and the reactionary role which some of its sectors played, its most radical wing maintained its active presence in all of the struggles of our people.

010

As a result of the rule of imperialism and the role of its instrument and ally, the ruling oligarchy, the Republic was characterized by economic backwardness, by a single-crop system, by chronic unemployment, illiteracy, moral decay, political and

government corruption, and the existence of antidemocratic administrations which perpetrated all forms of larceny and which violated the people's most elementary rights and freedoms. One of the most denigrating forms of exploitation and oppression of our people manifested itself through racial discrimination which was inherited from slavery.

To sustain this state of affairs, the ruling eligarchy more than once appealed for direct intervention by U.S. troops and set up a powerful repression and terror apparatus, although on occasion it demagogically appeared to respect democratic freedoms.

In view of this situation which characterized the semicolomial Republic, the people could not stand by and do nothing. From the very beginning of the Republic there had been patriotic and revolutionary voices who defended the national interest and the peopular interest. In the energetic struggle for its immediate interests, the working class managed to grow not only during the struggle against the Republic's ills; starting with the first quarter of the century, it fought great battles for our national and social emancipation. Starting with the twenties, the revolutionary students always played an outstanding role in this fight, side by side with the workers and the peasants.

Well-known and prestigious leaders rose from the radical petit bourgeoisie, and some of them embraced the ideology of the proletariat.

011

The first Marxist organizations sprang up at the beginning of the century under the inspiration of Carlos Balino and Agustin Martin Velos (Martinillo) who denounced the frustration of Marti's ideal and did a tremendous job in disseminating the ideas of scientific socialism.

Starting with World War I, with the growth of U.S. penetration of the Cuban economy, the intensification of capitalist exploitation and the crisis which shook the country after that war, the discontent, struggles and organising of the workers increased. During the decade of the twenties, the crisis of the system imposed upon Cuba by imperialist rule began to manifest itself in economic, social and political terms. Together with the national factors, there developed one fact which was bound to have tremendous influence on the Cuban revolutionary movement: the glorious October Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia, thus ushering in a new epoch in the history of humanity.

The high point during that phase was the creation of the first Cuban labor union and the founding, by Julio Antenio Mella and Carlos Balino, of the first Communist Party of Cuba in 1925. The program objectives drafted from the very beginning by that party of the Cuban Communists were as follows: first of all, to win full national independence and then to carry out the socialist revolution. During the following years, the objectives for this first phase of the revolution were expressed in a single slogun: For the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolutions

012

In the midst of the great worldwide capitalist economic crisis of the thirties and under the influence of its consequences upon the Cuban economy, the tyranny of Machado--the instrument of the oligarchy and of imperialism in crushing the popular and revolutionary movement--was defeated after 8 years of struggle during which the Student Left Wing, the Student Directorate, and above all the Communist Party and the National Labor Confederation of Cuba, played an important role. Following the maneuvers by the reactionaries and by imperialism in bringing to power a new puppet and after the victorious mutiny of the sergeants and enlisted men of the army, the country got a rather ephemeral government with a heterogeneous composition and a national character, revealing certain anti-imperialist features introduced by its left wing which was but this \*100-day administration\* was defeated and the popular revolutionary process was thus frustrated.

After the heroic battles of the working class and the other democratic and antiimperialist forces, there was a general strike in March 1935 which was crushed violently and which was followed by a terror wave unleashed against the worker and revolutionary movement. One of the essential causes of that defeat was the lack of unity among the various revolutionary forces.

013

The severe blows taken by the revolutionary movement were followed by a period of great popular struggles which were favorably influenced by the international situation which was overshadowed by the imminent aggression of Masi-fascism and by the mobilization of all of the world's progressive forces in defense of the Spanish Republic.

This situation and these struggles by our people led to the release of the political prisoners, the legalization of the Communist Party and the other opposition organizations, and the convocation of a constituent assembly. This launched a phase during which the center of activity of the popular and revolutionary movement on an international scale shifted to the struggle against rising Masi-fascism. During that phase we witnessed the rise of organizational unity among the labor unions and the Confederation of Workers of Guba, led from the first moment conward by Lazaro Pena; a powerful worker movement developed and the influence and the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist Party grew. Starting with Hitler Germany's aggression against the Soviet Union in 1941—when the World War ceased to be a predatory fight among the imperialist powers themselves and became a patriotic war against Mazi-fascism and in defense of socialism—corr workers honorably, to the extent of their possibilities and resources which of course were limited, accomplished the sacred task of contributing to the victory against Masi-fascism which at that time was humanity's Mo. 1 enemy.

014

After the crushing defeat of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, United States imperialism became the heir of fascism. This led to the start of the so-called "Cold War," with its manifestations of nuclear blackmail, the offensive against the worker and popular movement, "witch hunts," reactionary coups d'etat, etc. In Cuba, the imperialists found docile servants in the Grau and Prio administrations which carried out a policy of total surrender to the United States monopolies. They carried larceny and corruption in government to extremes, they forced a group of gangaters upon the leadership of the GTC [Confederation of Workers of Cuba], they assaulted the labor unions,

P2C

they murdered labor union leaders, they unleashed a strong anticommunist offensive, and they restricted the democratic rights of the people.

The popular reaction to this evil policy carried out by those corrupt administrations assumed such force that government politicians faced defeat during the coming general elections of 1952.

015

But imperialism and the most reactionary sectors of the indigenous ruling classes were fearful of the strength of the masses and were not prepared to permit an election victory by candidates who had the support of the national majority; this would not have implied a social revolutionary change but it would have meant the ouster of the group in power, thus opening up new prospects for the struggle.

In view of this possibility, the conspiracy between imperialism and the land-owning bourgeois oligarchy went to work again and exploited the power ambitions and influence within the armed forces of Batista and his clique, who were the unconditional representatives of their interests; this led to the reactionary military coup of 10 March 1952.

Something that had been denounced from the very first moment by the most aware and advanced forces soon became evident to the entire people: that the "military coup" would seriously aggravate the country's problems. This coup reduced Cuba's independence and sovereignty even more; it opened the country's gates even wider to the Yankee monopolies; it aided the interests of Cuban and foreign landowners; it stepped up the exploitation of the workers, small and medium peasants, lower-level whitecollar workers, small businessmen, etc.; it aggravated the problem of chronic unemployment among the workers; it promoted an increase in the profits of the big land-owning bourgeois enterprises at the expense of the living standard of the masses; it wasted our country's foreign exchange; it wiped out the few democratic liberties that were left prior to 10 March; it continued the trail of corruption and vice of the previous administrations, leading to the gangster-like plunder of the public treasury, the embezzlement of the workers' retirement funds, political and all other kinds of corruption; it unleashed the most brutal and bloody wave of terror in Cuban history. In summary, it aggravated to the maximum extent all of the contradictions inherent in the semicolonial system from which we suffered and this in turn created a revolutionary situation.

016

The gravity of the situation demanded the urgent mobilization of the people. But the bourgeois opposition parties were unable to do the job. Besides, the hesitations and ineptitude of these parties and their outstanding leaders, their subordination to the reactionary and anticommunist policy of imperialism made it impossible to set up a united front which would develop effective political action against the tyranny. Understanding this, Fidel Castro, a young revolutionary who began to stand tall on our country's political stage, arrived at the conclusion that the only way to successfully fight Batista and everything he stood for was to set up an independent movement that would have nothing to do with the corrupt and pro-imperialist politicians and to unleash the armed popular uprising as a form of mass struggle.

Leading a group of young revolutionaries, he then, as a first step, prepared the assault on the "Moncada" Barracks, the second most important military fortress of the Batista dictatorship; its capture would make it possible to arm the people and to form a center of revolutionary struggle.

The assault on the barracks in Santiago and Bayamo ended in a military defeat; but it constituted a vital foundation for the subsequent revolutionary triumph and was of extraordinary significance to the entire subsequent history of our country. It initiated a new phase in our people's revolutionary struggles, pointing up armed action as the fundamental fighting method. It made Fidel stand out as the indisputable leader of the revolutionary phase which now began. It served as an antecedent and as a lesson for the days of "Granma," of the Sierra, and of the underground struggle. It forced the tyranny to shed the outward appearance of "normalcy" and to present itself as what it was: an apparatus capable of resorting to the most ruthless crimes and the most barbarous terror.

017

In his historic defense during the trial of the men who assaulted the "Moncada" Barracks, known under the title of "History Will Absolve Me"--a decisive factor which turned the tactical setback of 26 July into a strategic victory--Fidel, from the Marxist viewpoint, outlined the popular and advanced program of the movement he headed. Among other problems, that program took up the most urgent ills besetting the subjugated Republic; it contains a correct evaluation of the factors in the struggle and presents a concept of the people which would help rally all classes and sectors interested in the fight against the national oligarchy and imperialism; it presents and justifies the principal and inescapable measures which the Revolutionary Government would have to take immediately upon seizing power. This program, as Fidel said, was not socialist. It was an advanced program; it was the maximum aspiration which, at that time and under the prevailing objective and subjective conditions, could be set up.

018

In prison, Fidel and his companions laid the foundations of the 26 July Revolutionary Movement. A powerful popular campaign secured their release and, after a short stay in Cuba, during which they confirmed the impossibility of achieving serious changes in the country's situation through legal means, they went to Mexico to prepare the armed insurrection, an objective which materialized on 2 December 1956 when the yacht "Granma" arrived at the coast of Oriente with its 82 expedition members.

At the same time, the people had been preparing for the next combat actions: They had been organizing the underground struggle throughout the island. This was expressed by the 30 November uprising in Santiago de Cuba, where the heroic figure of Frank Pais stood out. The United Worker Movement carried out mass actions against the offensive, launched by the bosses, the government, and the imperialists, such as the 1955 sugar strike and the student movement, whose highest symbol is Jose Antonio Echeverria, and other popular sectors fought a continuing battle against the repression forces of the tyranny.

The setbacks of the "Granma" expedition, immediately after landing, were followed by a process of recovery: The number of fighting men grew, there were victorious encounters with Batista's troops. Fidel's prestige and that of the guerrilla movement

kept growing. This guerrilla movement was converted into the Rebel Army, the principal factor in the defeat of the tyranny and the establishment of revolutionary power.

Thus, less than 6 years after the historic assault on the "Moncada" Barracks, after the ceaseless and heroic combat operations in the Sierra and in the plains, after the heroic invasion by and Che, and after the sweeping offensive by the Rebel Army, the Batista tyranny crumbled on 1 January 1959. The final order to continue the offensive until the end, issued by Fidel to the Rebel Army, and the vigorous and unanimous general strike of January, called by him, prevented imperialism from once again frustrating the people's triumph and guaranteed the victory of the Revolution.

019

This triumph of 1 January historically marked the end-once and for all-of four and a half centuries of colonial and semicolonial rule, of oppression of the working masses and the entire people, of hunger, unemployment, discrimination, assaults, crimes, and ignorance.

It was now up to the victorious revolution to accomplish the urgent requirement of achieving full national independence which brought the Cubans of Yara and Baire to the jungle and which continued to be the primary objective of the Cuban revolutionaries during the subjugated republic. It was now up to the Cuban Revolution to meet the need for real democracy and social justice which had stirred Cuba's humble classes and sectors during the past century, which inspired the advanced program of Marti, Gomez, and Maceo in 1895, which encouraged the struggles of our people during this century, and which had been buffeted time and again due to Yankee intervention. the defeat of the popular revolution in 1933, and the downfall of the Batista tyranny. It was also up to our revolution to accomplish a task which was not present during the colonial era, nor during the first years of the republic, a task which was emerging as an objective for the revolutionary movement starting in the thirties. a task which during the fifties became an urgent historical necessity, indissolubly linked to the national-liberation and democratic struggle: the task of liberating the working class from capitalist exploitation; achieving the final emancipation of all of the oppressed and exploited; in summary, implementing the socialist transformation of society.

After the objective of national independence had been achieved, after the implementation of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution proclaimed by Cuban revolutionaries during the thirties, and after the practical implementation of the "Moncada" program, the Cuban Revolution worked hard to end underdevelopment, to build the solid foundations of socialism, and to advance firmly on the road leading to the construction of the classless society, the communist society of the future.

II. Character of the Booch During Which the Cuban Revolution Developed

International Situation in Which the Cuban Revolution Triumphed

020

The transition from the capitalist production method to its imperialist phase implied the extreme aggravation of all contradictions inherent in capitalism, not only within each country but also between the imperialist powers themselves.

The struggle for markets and raw material sources, the struggle to achieve the best possible conditions for capital investments and to exploit abundant and cheap manpower began to be waged in a world which had already been divided up in terms of territory.

The inequality of economic development introduced rapid and abrupt changes in the balance of forces among the countries which aspired to world supremacy, generating a need for new share allocations and distributions; clashes and conflicts thus became inevitable and World War I was thus unleashed.

In that historical situation, Russia turned out to be the weakest link in the imperialist chain. The existing objective conditions were combined with the sure leadership and the resolute, consistently revolutionary action of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin.

021

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution in 1917 marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind whose fundamental content is the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.

The division of the world into two diametrically opposed systems—the main feature of the general crisis of capitalism—gave rise to the fundamental contradiction of our epoch: The contradiction between the socialist system, which is advancing and developing, and the capitalist system which is decaying and which is doomed to disappear.

The triumph of the revolution in Russia launched a period of upswing for the revolutionary forces in various parts of the world and for the development of the struggle in the colonies and dependent countries; this marked the beginning of the process of breakup of the colonial system of imperialism and this is another one of the characteristic features of capitalism's general crisis.

022

World War I did not resolve the consequences of unequal economic development for a long time. The need for a new distribution of the world returned and with it the maximum aggravation of interimperialist contradictions.

At the same time, the existence of the USSR--which had defeated all attempts at destroying it and which was making headway in building the new society--constituted cause for concern among the most aggressive representatives of international finance capital.

In the context of this situation, the ruling circles in the imperialist countries did not hesitate to promote the economic and military resurgence of Germany, to contribute to the triumph of Nazism and to encourage the "march to the East," hoping in this way to crush the world's first socialist country.

Their calculations turned out wrong. The Soviet Union became the principal bastion in the struggle against fascism, bearing the brunt of the fighting during World War II and saving humanity from the horrors implied in this.

The defeat of fascism—in which the USSR played the decisive role—created favorable conditions for the victorious culmination of the popular struggle in various countries of Europe and Asia. As the capitalist system broke up and as the socialist transformations began, socialism's conversion into a worldwide system became possible—this is the fundamental distinctive feature of a new phase in the general crisis of capitalism.

The crisis of imperialism's colonial system was aggravated as a result of World War II; this crisis was expressed by the growth of the liberation struggle and the rise of national states with various degrees of independence.

This brought about the general weakening of the capitalist system and the aggravation of its internal contradictions. After the loss of control over many countries, there was an intensification of the struggle among the imperialist monopolies over markets, raw material sources and spheres of influence. To recover their losses and to hold on to their profits, they had to step up domestic exploitation and the exploitation of the peoples of those countries which they still ruled.

This brought about the strengthening of U.S. imperialism at the expense of the rest of the imperialist powers, and the conversion of the United States into the fundamental bulwark of worldwide reaction.

023

In this new historic situation, the monopolist circles in the United States did not conceal their aspirations for world domination. They proclaimed a policy based on "positions of strength." Now began the "cold war," atomic blackmail and aggressive military pacts.

The United States provoked the imperialist war against the Korean people. It undertook an unrestrained arms race and stepped up the construction of military bases directed against the USSR and the other socialist powers. We lived through a period of aggravation in international relations.

The imperialists could no longer act with impunity. They are now facing the international socialist system which is achieving considerable success in its economic and military buildup, which pursues a consistent internationalist policy, and which serves as example to the peoples of the world. The forces of socialism, of the international working class and of the national liberation movement are getting together and firmly oppose the imperialist designs.

The U.S. war against the Korean people was defeated after 3 years--1950-1953--of hard fighting through the heroic resistance of the people and through the strength of the socialist camp's solidarity; the United States was unable to attain its objectives of conquest in that area.

In Vietnam, the national liberation struggle continued against French imperialist oppression. The patriotic forces were able to win the decisive victory at Dienbienphu in 1954 which put an end to French-imposed colonialism.

In Algeria, the liberation struggle began to develop successfully, starting that year, against French imperialism supported by NATO.

These are three aspects of the development of the revolutionary struggle which express the growing vitality of the forces opposing imperialism. Imperialism is still strong and able to achieve successes which, although temporary, constitute passing setbacks for the international revolutionary movement.

This was true of Guatemala where the nationalist, democratic and socially progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz confronted the U.S. monopolies. Yankee intervention—through the employment of mercenaries and with the complicity of their puppets in the OAS—was able to frustrate the development of the process that had been initiated there.

024

The important changes which are taking place in the balance of forces throughout the world continued to advance and emerged when imperialist aggression against Egypt in 1956 was repelled through domestic resistance and the resolute action of international solidarity, particularly the energetic position assumed by the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

The counterrevolutionary actions unleashed by the domestic and foreign reactionary forces in Hungary in 1956 were also crushed by the Hungarian people with the help of the international working class and especially the direct aid of the Soviet Union; this prevented the restoration of capitalism in the country and the weakening of the socialist camp which this would have signified.

During the last years of the decade of the fifties, it became evident that qualitative changes had taken place in the international arena.

The growth of the international socialist system's power and international influence, the development of the process of decomposition of the colonial system in the face of the upswing of the national liberation movement; the increase in class struggles in the capitalist world and the accentuated inability of the worldwide capitalist system to resolve its internal contradictions—these point up a change in favor of the forces fighting against imperialism and the fact that the worldwide socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of mankind.

025

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution took place at this historic moment, initiating a new phase in the struggle in Latin America.

The structural changes undertaken by the revolutionary government stirred up the resistance and hatred of Yankee imperialism which seeks to paralyze and destroy the process now underway.

The refusal to refine fuel coming from the USSR and the subsequent suspension of fuel supplies to Cuba, the termination of the sugar quota, the total economic blockade, the slander campaign against the Cuban Revolution, the support given to the domestic counterrevolution, the organization of assassination attempts and acts of sabotage, and the creation and equipping of bands of insurrectionists—these are a part of the arsenal of aggressions perpetrated against Cuba.

The failure of these methods results from the resolute and firm action of the Cuban people and its revolutionary leadership as well as the prompt, resolute and brotherly action of the USSR, first of all, and the other socialist countries. This caused the U.S. Government to prepare the mercenary invasion of April 1961 in order to crush the revolution. The Bay of Pigs became imperialism's first military defeat in Latin America.

026

Imperialism's persistence in trying to crush the Cuban Revolution caused it very seriously to consider recourse to direct aggression and the steps which it took along these lines led to the October 1962 crisis; the final results of that crisis signified a compromise which forced the United States to agree not to invade Cuba. This, combined with the development of the revolution's military strength, the support of the Soviet Union and the unfavorable developments for U.S. imperialism in the events in Indochina, where it committed the bulk of its manpower and resources, prevented direct intervention against our people and resulted in a victory of the forces of socialism.

Imperialism underestimated the heroic resistance and the fighting readiness of the Cuban working class and people. Nor did it take into account the historic epoch during which the revolution and the changes in the world-wide balance of power took place, as manifested concretely by the October crisis and, generally, by the existence and growth of the revolution itself.

The domestic revolutionary unity and resolution and the international solidarity of the peoples of the world, of the socialist countries and especially of the Soviet Union with their economic, political, military and technical contribution, made possible the defeat of the military aggressions launched or encouraged by the United States. This also made it possible to overcome the consequences of the economic blockade, to create conditions which have guaranteed and still guarantee the continued growth of our economy and which enabled the Cuban Revolution to become an irreversible social fact.

027

### Current International Situation

The current international situation is characterized by the constant growth of the international socialist system's power and influence, by the advances of the international communist and worker movement through the rest of the world, by the successes of the national liberation movement, by changes favorable to international detente and the general weakening of international imperialism's positions. The fundamental contradiction of our epoch between the socialist system and the capitalist system continues to develop in favor of the revolutionary forces.

028

The international capitalist system is suffering from the in-depth development and aggravation of all of its contradictions. The growing concentration of production and capital as well as the development of state monopoly capitalism are aggravating the fundamental contradiction of capitalism. Inside each imperialist country, the antagonism between capital and labor is combined with the opposing interests of the

monopolies, on the one hand, and the entire rest of the nation, on the other hand. There has been an increase in internal imperialist conflicts over markets and spheres of influence, primarily between the fundamental power centers which today emerge in the capitalist world: The United States, which is continuing to lose its relative weight within the world economy, the European Common Market which in turn is divided by profound internal contradictions and Japan. There is also an increase in the antagonism between the imperialist powers and the underdeveloped countries which defend their interests against the voracity of the colonial or neocolonial home countries through the creation of joint organizations and the coordination of the production and sale of their products so as to make an adequate response to imperialist policy and counteract the consequences of unequal exchange which dooms them to backwardness and exploitation.

The capitalist world is at this time going through the worst postwar economic crisis which has hit its principal cities and which is intertwined with the breakup of the international monetary system, energy and raw material problems, rising unemployment and spreading inflation which, for the first time, coincides with economic stagnation.

The imperialist monopolies try to shift the consequences of capitalism's current worldwide economic situation to the underdeveloped countries; this even further aggravates the contradictions between imperialism and those countries.

On the other hand, the content and the effect of the crisis go far beyond mere economic aspects and constitute an expression of the bankruptcy of imperialism's social, political and ideological structure and of capitalist society's moral decay.

Despite the general weakening of imperialism and the capitalist system as a whole, it is necessary to keep in mind that its aggressive and exploiting essence has not changed, nor has there been any change in the reactionary nature of its policy. By all means at its command, imperialism continues to try to reduce socialism's positions and influence, to slow down the advance of the national liberation movement, to paralyze the development of working class actions in capitalist countries, to regain lost positions and to halt the growing deterioration which corrodes the capitalist world.

029

In the face of this situation of the capitalist system, the socialist countries--based on the community of their economic-social system, their ideology, and their principal objectives--constitute a worldwide system within which there are no economic crises and within which there develops a new type of international relations, based on complete equality of rights of all members, respect for the sovereignty, independence, and interests of each country; mutual aid and brotherly and reciprocal collaboration, where nobody has or can have special rights or privileges.

On this basis, new forms of economic relations have been established and these relations are aimed at combining the interest of each country with the interest of the entire system, through socialist international division of labor, specialization, and cooperation, so that each and every one of the socialist countries may have an opportunity to make full use of its resources and potential with which each country can insure its constant development and contribute to the favorable development of the system as a whole.

One result of the advances achieved and of the increase in bonds between the countries of the socialist community is CEMA which represents a higher degree in their relationships and within which economic integration is being developed with a secure perspective, utterly different from the contradictions which affect the attempts currently being made along these lines in the capitalist world.

030

Within a short period of time, the international socialist system has demonstrated its complete superiority over the capitalist system in all sectors of community life and has become the decisive factor in the course of events recorded in contemporary society. History indeed has shown that only socialism is capable of solving mankind's vital problems.

From the international socialist system's growing economic and military power springs to a great extent the fundamental character of its contribution to the common cause of the forces which confront imperialism in the struggle for liberty, independence, social progress, and peace.

This power and the consistent implementation of proletarian internationalism constitute a guarantee for each socialist country against possible direct aggression from imperialism. They make it possible to render growing assistance to the revolutionary movement, to create conditions favorable for the broadening of the worldwide anti-imperialist front, and for the start toward construction of socialism in ever new countries.

The analysis of the current international situation confirms that the content, direction, and main features of historical development are determined by the international socialist system and the forces that are fighting against imperialism and for society's socialist transformation.

031

Under current conditions, the fundamental class contradiction in the capitalist production method is being considerably aggravated, as the struggle of the international working class acquires new dimensions. In addition to stepping up the fight in defense of its economic and political interests, this also broadens the possibilities for the creation of a broad front which would unite all those who fight for democracy and socialism. Its role in the international arena keeps growing day after day.

Right now, the international working class can count on battle-seasoned vanguard detachments organized in the communist parties of various countries which make up the international communist movement—a powerful revolutionary force which decisively influences world events, based on the experience and collaboration of the socialist countries.

032

Under the situations created by the worldwide socialist system's development and by the struggle of the international worker movement, the forces of the national liberation movement have been able to win great victories. The overwhelming victory of the glorious Vietnamese people over the economic and military power of the United States is a permanent lesson of what the peoples are capable when they decide to fight for their independence. This shows the importance and significance assumed at this time by international solidarity and by the support of the socialist camp.

The breakup of imperialism's colonial system has been accentuated all the way to extreme limits and the recent liberation of the Portuguese colonies has struck a fatal blow to colonialism in its classical form.

But, in spite of the victories won, some residues of colonialism, in its most accentuated form, still exist in the world. These stains must be wiped off the world's political map. The same attitude must be adopted toward neocolonialism which is still strong and is being implemented, encouraged, and maintained primarily by Yankee imperialism.

In the Middle East, the U.S. policy of utilizing the Zionist state of Israel, as a means of containing the liberation process of the Arab countries and guaranteeing or regaining control of its enormous wealth at the cost of war and the genocide of the Palestinian people, has failed to produce desired results, but there has been no remunciation of its pretensions. This policy makes it difficult to achieve a real solution to these problems and aggravates the potential danger of war in the region which is one of the world's most critical and conflict-laden zones at this time.

033

In Latin America we are currently witnessing an upswing in the fight against imperialist rule under the influence of the successes of the Cuban revolution and the current international situation. Different processes are now developing, expressing the crisis of imperialist domination.

The contradiction between the historical interests of Latin America and U.S. imperialism is irreducible. This means that resistance to imperialist policy springs not only from the working class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia. We now have various governments—some of which sprang up as representative of the bourgeoisie—which refuse to continue to accept the systematic plunder by imperialism and its transnational companies. These governments are adopting nationalist positions and are getting ready to organize the coordinated defense of the Latin American economies.

In spite of the diverse class content and popular participation in the various existing movements, there is a new reality which is now making headway. There are more and more possibilities for the formation of democratic governments which come into conflict with imperialism and the oligarchy as they maintain resolute positions in defense of the national interests, as they pursue an independent foreign policy and a policy of solidarity with other peoples.

There is an upswing in the nationalist struggle against Yankee imperialism's economic and political rule which is expressed by the nationalization of enterprises and the recovery of natural resources. This is an expression of the growth of the conflict with the financial oligarchy and its transnational corporations.

The English-speaking countries in the Caribbean are participating actively in the fight against colonialism and neocolonialism, taking up progressive positions within the Latin American community.

Various governments have defied the OAS accords and have restored relations with Cuba. This led to a majority agreement within that organization, leaving it up to the member countries to decide whether or not they want to renew relations with Cuba. At the same time, the United States has been forced to lift partly the blockade against Cuba.

034

In this Latin American context, the communist parties of Latin America keep growing and getting stronger. They are gaining in cohesion and establishing a common policy for the region. They are the vanguard detachments of the working class.

New social forces, which broaden the base of the revolutionary movement, keep springing up during the development of the struggle in which the working class and the peasantry play the principal role. Strong movements appear and develop within the church and the armed forces which are the traditional bulwarks of reaction. These movements are playing a progressive and even revolutionary role.

Under these conditions, the imperialist circles do not hesitate to resort to extremes in trying to slow down the natural development of our America and to pursue their most sordid ambitions. The example of Chile proves that fascism has risen again in America and is spreading to other countries as a desperate means for temporarily sustaining the tyrannies which oppress their peoples.

The struggle appears as a difficult and complex battle, where all forces which confront imperialism must play their role and where the revolutionary movement must utilize the forms and methods of struggle which are suitable for the moment and the specific conditions prevailing in each country. Unity and mutual understanding among those who confront imperialism and reaction turns out to be vital to the attainment of victory in the great battles that are coming.

035

The appearance and growth of the movement of the nonaligned countries constitutes a new organized confrontation element against the exploiting policy of imperialism.

This movement has played an important role in international policy in recent years and is called upon to play an even more determinant role as its anti-imperialist orientation develops in depth and as greater cooperation, effective solidarity, and unity of action develops among its members.

036

The new balance of forces throughout the world today, in combination with the efforts of the USSR and the other socialist countries, with those of the international working class, the national liberation movement, and all forces interested in the preservation of peace, made it possible to advance on the road of peaceful coexistence and international detente. This, in turn, has made it possible to force imperialism to accept certain agreements which commit it historically, although its warlike essence has not changed and although it has not renounced aggression and the creation of conflicts which threaten world peace.

The current task is to make irreversible the achievements in the field of detente, to advance toward a lasting peace, and to make sure that it will include all countries equally. This is why we need the combined action of all peoples, all forces which are fighting for peace and peaceful coexistence. At the head of these forces, we have the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union.

037

This is the worldwide context in which Cuba is working courageously on the construction of socialism, strengthening its institutions, developing the economy and raising the cultural and technical level of its people, overcoming the consequences of underdevelopment resulting from centuries of colonial and neocolonial domination; pursuing a consistent international policy on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism; in this context, Cuba holds the First Congress of its Communist Party and prepares to continue to work enthusiastically to attain the program objectives of its revolution so as to attain the future goals of socialism and communism.

III. Character of the Cuban Revolution

038

The revolutionary victory of 1 January 1959 fundamentally changed the balance among the country's social classes. The bourgeois landowner bloc was ousted from political power. For the first time in Cuban history, this power was transferred to an alliance of the popular masses where the dominant role is played by the interests of the working class and the working peasants, represented by the victorious rebel army and its revolutionary leadership.

A profound social revolution is beginning.

039

The growth of the Cuban revolution constitutes practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis regarding the possibility of the uninterrupted course of the Revolution.

During the epoch of imperialism, there was no insurmountable barrier between the people's democratic and anti-imperialist phase and the socialist phase. Both are part of a single process in which the national liberation and democratic measures —which on occasion already have a socialist stamp—prepare the ground for the clearly socialist ones. The decisive element which defines this process is the question as to who will direct this process and as to which class holds political power.

040

The democratic, popular and anti-imperialist phase of our revolution began in January 1959; this phase was characterized by the adoption of a whole set of measures responding to the common interests of all classes and popular sectors which constituted the base of the triumphant revolution defined from a Marxist viewpoint by Fidel Castro's historical statement: "History will absolve me": the 600,000 Cuban unemployed, the 500,000 farmworkers, the 400,000 industrial workers, the

100,000 small farmers, the 20,000 small businessmen and the 10,000 young professional men--"These are the people who suffer all of the misfortunes and therefore are capable of fighting with every bit of courage!"

The merger--within the program objectives of the revolution --of the national revolutionary ideas developed by Jose Marti and the Marxist-Leninist concept, which Fidel Castro and other leaders of the revolutionary movement shared ever since the assault on the Moncada Barracks, is expressed in the national liberation and socially advanced character of this phase of the Cuban revolution.

The jailed political prisoners were released; parties and political groups which were the accomplices of the tyranny were dissolved and the national and local organs of state power were installed in their place, that is, the revolutionary authorities headed by a cabinet with full executive and legislative faculties; the old army and the police, instruments of imperialism, were disarmed and dissolved, leaving in their place the rebel army -- the people in uniform -- as a guarantee for national sovereignty and revolutionary conquest; then began the purge of the judicial branch with the outlawing of the so-called emergency courts instituted in order to repress democratic and revolutionary political activities; next came the creation of revolutionary tribunals to judge and punish the spies, torturers, informers, and war criminals; we liquidated the power of the Mujalista labor union bureaucracy which had served the tyranny and which had supported the worst antiworker interests; provisional leadership groups were appointed to organize the elections of the new revolutionary labor union leaders by the workers themselves; workers who had been fired for political or social reasons were rehired; housing rents were cut by 30 and 50 percent, as were telephone and electric power rates; the State undertook the construction of urban and rural housing; the property of embezzlers, who had gotten rich from the public treasury and from dirty business deals protected by prior administrations, was confiscated and the government-property area was set up and. along with it, the embryo of the future socialist sector.

#### 041

The promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law in May 1959 is the most important and radical measure of that phase. It terminated big land holdings, both those of the foreign monopolies and those of the indigenous landowning oligarchy; the land was given to the working peasants who, in their capacity as tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and farm laborers, had been exploited by the big landowners; the land of the big estates employing wage laborers was nationalized; this land was not broken up but was maintained in big production units.

This measure, which initiated the revolutionary transformation of production relations—the economic base of society—does not by itself go beyond the national—liberation framework of the first phase but did generate a process which, through its application, led to the replacement of private ownership of land, as a fundamental means of production, with government ownership; given the class interests which predominated in the leadership of the revolutionary state, this signified the birth of a sector which, through its development, became the socialist sector of the economy.

The imperialist interests suffered a telling blow through the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law.

042

The existence of a revolutionary power, first of all representing the working class and the working peasants, imparted a very rapid rhythm to the socialist changes, emphasizing their class-oriented character. The process of expropriation and transfer of landownership to the peasants was speeded up amidst a growing revolutionary awareness among the masses.

The extreme aggravation of the class struggle throughout the country--stimulated by growing attacks from United States imperialism and the definite switch of all groups of the national bourgeoisie to an alliance with the imperialists, the oligarchy, and its agents who had been displaced from power--these brought about a rapid radicalization of the masses and the entire revolutionary process.

In keeping with its attempts to defeat the revolutionary power in economic terms, Yankee imperialism decided to cut off the Cuban sugar quota on the United States market on 5 July 1960.

In coordination with the domestic counterrevolution acts of sabotage were stepped up at the same time, along with assassinations, organization of armed bands, as well as a succession of conspiracies to assassinate Fidel and other revolutionary leaders. Acting immediately the revolution armed the people, created the worker militias, and organized the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. Following its firm course, it energetically responded to each imperialist aggression.

043

Nationalizations of an anti-imperialist and socialist character took place during the second half of 1960.

The statement contained in the First Havana Declaration-of 2 September 1960-condemning the exploitation of man by man, was a herald of the social perspective.

The Cuban revolution entered its socialist construction phase.

The principal companies were nationalized on 6 August and all of the United States banks were nationalized on 17 September. The Cuban Bank and the remainder of the foreign banks, as well as 382 big national capital enterprises were nationalized on 13 October.

The nationalization of the remaining United States companies took place on 24 October in response to the total embargo on Cuban goods imposed by the United States 5 days earlier.

A few days before that, on 15 October 1960, Major Fidel Castro had proclaimed that the Moncada Program had been carried out. The revolution now immediately faced the tasks of socialism and the historic period of the construction of socialism in Cuba began.

A few months later, on 16 April 1961, on the eve of the mercenary landing organized and supported by imperialism in the Bay of Pigs, Major Fidel Castro, addressing a crowd of soldiers, militiamen, and working people attending the burial of victims of the preceding day's bombing prior to the mercenary attack, officially declared the socialist character of the Cuban revolution On the next day, the people went to spill their blood for the cause of socialism.

044

One specific feature of the transition from the democratic, popular, and antiimperialist phase to the socialist phase in Cuba resides in the fact that this was accomplished during a short period and under the revolutionary leadership itself. The problem of political power had essentially been resolved ever since the first moments with regard to both phases of the revolution.

During the first phase, this problem was expressed as a democratic-revolutionary dictatorship of the popular masses, in other words, workers, peasants, urban petit bourgeoisie and other population strata with interests opposed to the rule of imperialism and the land-owning bourgeois oligarchy.

Now, during the second phase of socialist construction, it was expressed as the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the working peasants and the other strata of our society whose interests are opposed to the capitalist system,

It was the popular classes and sectors—the industrial and agricultural workers, the working peasants, the students, and the other elements of the radical petty bourgeoisie—who, organized in the rebel army and the underground groups in the cities, defeated the Batista army and, from the very beginning, assured the profoundly radical character of the Cuban revolution. Although the provisional government which was set up in January 1959, did contain some bourgeois members, they therefore never had enough strength to impose a counterrevolutionary direction. Real power was in the hands of the rebel army and the popular masses, led by Fidel Castro, whose assumption of the office of prime minister in February 1959 launched the rapid liquidation of the reactionary influence of those bourgeois elements who were in the government.

The contradiction between the development of the production forces and the capitalist production relations, accentuated by the special characteristics present in any underdeveloped country, subject to economic and political domination of imperialism, required certain tasks for its resolution which could not be tackled by the weak and sold-out Cuban bourgeoisie.

045

In political terms it was necessary to wrest national sovereignty from imperialist rule and to assure the adequate functioning of political democracy. In economic terms it was necessary to break up the structure of underdevelopment, to implement an agrarian revolution which would do away with big land holdings and which would wipe out the semifeudal features of the rural areas, to put an end to unemployment, to raise the living standard of the masses, and to achieve the country's industrialization. In social terms it was indispensable to liberate the peasantry from its subhuman living conditions, to guarantee humane conditions for the workers, to wipe out illiteracy, to take care of the population's health, to eliminate racial discrimination, to achieve democratic rights for all manual and intellectual workers, and to satisfy a whole series of demands for social justice coming from the people.

The resolution of the contradiction between the requirements of production force development and existing production relationships as a first step called for an anti-imperialist, democratic, and popular revolution.

The national bourgeoisie was incapable of directing such a revolution due to its economic weakness, its subordination to the Yankee imperialist interests, and its fear of action by the popular masses. This caused it to oppose even the national liberation measures during the first phase.

The tie-in of economic interests between the Yankee monopolies, the land-owning bourgeois oligarchy, and the rest of the national bourgeoisie produced a situation in which a measure, that would affect one of these sectors, triggered immediate opposition and resistance from the entire bourgeoisie in a bloc. Under the conditions of economic and ideological rule by imperialism, measures which did not even go beyond bourgeois democratic limits were rejected by the bourgeoisies of the dependent countries. In those countries, the bourgeoisie is afraid that the development of the revolutionary process will inevitably lead to socialism.

This situation—in which the objectives of national liberation and democratic objectives had to be achieved by the working class at the head of government power—led to the close interrelationship between the measures and tasks of the first and second phases of our revolution and the uninterrupted character of the transforma—tions which brought about the transition from one phase to another in the midst of a single revolutionary process.

046

As a part of this process, it was necessary, at the end of 1961, to create the ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organizations), which constituted the first step toward the creation of the united political instrument of the revolution: formed as a result of the union of the 26 July Revolutionary Movement, the People's Socialist Party, and the 13 March Revolutionary Directorate on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. After several months of existence and errors of sectarianism, analyzed by Major Fidel Castro on 26 March 1962, the ORI were reorganized at the end of that year into the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba.

A decisive factor in the strength and solidity of our revolution's process was unity among the revolutionary sectors and leaders and among the leaders and the people as such; this was achieved and maintained permanently due to the rallying capacity of the supreme leader of the revolution, Comrade Fidel Castro, who kept up a constant struggle to ensure and develop that unity.

The process of unification of all revolutionaries and the degree of development of the political-ideological awareness of the masses culminated in the founding of the Communist Party of Cuba in October 1965.

In this fashion, the Cuban revolution created the political instrument that was suitable for guaranteeing its historical continuity and the attainment of the ultimate objectives of the working class and the entire working people: the construction of socialism and communism.

047

IV. Work of the Cuban Revolution

It achieved true national independence, uninterruptedly proceeding from the national liberation and democratic-popular phase to the socialist phase which represented the

establishment of socialist social ownership of the fundamental means of production and, through their development, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

It nationalized and set up, as a function of the interests of the working class and the entire working people, the industries, the land, the banks, communications, the construction industry, transportation, foreign and domestic trade. Socialist social ownership today covers all sectors of the economy with the exception of transportation—in which a small section continues in private hands—and agriculture where, however, the government sector covers more than 70 percent of the country's farmland.

It gave land for free to the working peasants who cultivated it as tenant farmers, sharecroppers and farm laborers.

It nationalized the land of the big landowners, the property of the United States monopolies and of the country's land-owning oligarchy, creating important state agricultural production enterprises on vast areas that were not broken up, thus carrying out a true agrarian revolution.

It facilitated the gradual and voluntary incorporation of working peasants and their lands into state agricultural production and fomented their voluntary grouping in agricultural and livestock cooperatives.

It eliminated unemployment, it guaranteed the right to work, and it carried out the principle of "equal wages for equal work" without discrimination of any kind.

It barred all forms of the repugnant racial discrimination,

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From the very beginning, it did away with gambling, drugs, prostitution and begging. These traces left by capitalism had completely disappeared from our society.

It guaranteed the social security that was indispensable to senior citizens and to both permanently and temporarily disabled persons.

It instituted free medical and hospital assistance for all citizens even in the country's remotest corners, thus freeing the population from various diseases and significantly reducing the death rate.

It proclaimed and assured the right to social equality for women; it created the premises for their total liberation and it outlined a policy suitable for the full attainment of that objective.

It assured the happy growth of children. In Cuba, the children are the only privileged people.

It nationalized education, eradicated illiteracy, and developed a profound revolution in education, both quantitatively—through the accelerated growth of the network of teaching centers—and qualitatively, by raising the level of education and developing the pedagogic and formative method of tying study to work.

Approximately one-third of the population is registered on various levels and in various types of education throughout the country.

Education covers all children without exception, the vast majority of adolescents, hundreds of thousands of men and working women who are getting training in adult education courses and in technical training courses on various levels and in various special fields.

It guaranteed the right of everyone to athletic activities, and it eliminated the commercial approach to the practice and development of athletics.

The radically new social conditions under which sports are developing and the massive nature of athletic activities made it possible to achieve important successes and to win first place in numerous sports on an international level in spite of the relative smallness of our population; this helped strengthen the bonds of friendship and collaboration with other peoples to whom Cuba is a noteworthy example.

It provided impetus for the tremendous expansion and qualitative improvement of recreation and other social services provided as a function of the necessities of the individual's integral development.

It placed art and culture in the service of the people by eliminating its elitist character, developing the purest elements of national character and assimilating the great achievements of universal culture.

It has promoted and still promotes a genuine economic, planned and proportional development as a function of the growing satisfaction of the individual's material and spiritual needs. In spite of imperialism's economic blockade and lack of experience, it transformed the production structure of agriculture during those years, developing an impetuous process of mechanization, substantially increasing the use of fertilizer and herbicides, introducing or expanding new types of crops which already held a significant place in agricultural and livestock production. such as citrus fruits; there has been a 100 percent increase in the volume of water stored as a result of the construction of many dams; the process of industrialization was developed through an increase in electric power generation by more than 3.4 times, an increase in fertilizer production by more than 4.2 times, and cement by 2.5 times; new economic branches were virtually created and developed, as in the case of the merchant marine which increased its tonnage 8.8 times, as well as fishing whose output went up 7.5 times; construction work increased 5.2 times; more highways and roads have been built than during the country's entire prior history; great technological difficulties have been overcome, and this made it possible to double the output of nickel.

It won democratic liberties for all workers in giving them ownership of the fundamental means of production; this is manifested by growing popular participation in economic management and in decision-making on questions of the country's economic-social development.

It liquidated the bourgeois juridical system and established a new law based on socialist legality. The people now participate actively in the process of drafting and discussing their laws.

It strengthened and perfected the new socialist state and established its organs of popular power in accord with the interests of the working people.

It developed the defensive capacity of its Revolutionary Armed Forces and keeps its agencies of state security and domestic order on the alert so as to crush any attempt at imperialist aggression.

It pursues an independent international policy of brotherly friendship, a revolutionary and class-oriented policy, a policy of close collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism; a policy of revolutionary union with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean; a policy of militant solidarity with the countries of Africa and Asia, a policy of cooperation with all of the countries which respect our national sovereignty.

It defeated the counterrevolution in all spheres, in political, economic, ideological, and military terms, and it turned socialism in Cuba into an irreversible historical fact.

It forced the unity of all revolutionaries in the PCC.

It brought tranquility and spiritual security to all men and women of our people in their current lives and in terms of their future prospects; they no longer need to fear unemployment, uncertainty about their daily sustenance, diseases without medical and hospital assistance; they no longer have to worry about watching their children grow without schools, undernourished and poorly dressed; they no longer need to fear an old age without support. And all of this comes on top of the tremendous achievements of the revolution in material terms.

It developed a high political awareness among our people who feel the revolution profoundly, who understand it, who grasp its difficulties and errors, and who fight to overcome them, who never lost revolutionary enthusiasm and who are imbued with an extraordinary internationalist feeling.

Finally, through socialism, it was able to make sure that Cuban society would reach a higher level in the evolution of mankind and that each individual would thus achieve his full dignity.

#### Second Part

### Program Principles and Objectives

048

V. Principal Objective of the Cuban Revolution's Current Phase

Building communism is the PCC's strategic objective,

To attain this goal, the PCC starts from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the two phases of communist society: socialism, the lower phase, and communism, the higher phase.

As phases of one and the same economic-social formation, socialism and communism have certain common foundations: social ownership of the means of production, absence of exploitation of man by man; doing work as a creative activity; work as a duty for all; common economic-social laws in force and in action; development of

economy based on a single plan; same fundamental objective to be attained: satisfaction of man's ever-growing material and spiritual needs and development of new-type comradely and mutual-aid social relationships which guarantee the overall formation of the individual.

Nevertheless, there are major differences between these two phases which must absolutely be taken into account.

The basic difference between the socialist phase and the communist phase resides in the development level of the production forces and in the degree of maturity of production relations.

049

During the communist phase there will be a single form of ownership of the means of production; class differences will have disappeared and all society will be made up of a single social type; there will be no differences between physical and intellectual work, between the cities and the rural areas; work discipline will not require legal and administrative measures, work will be the individual's first vital necessity and, with it, moral, social, and human factors will be converted into the individual's only motivation; monetary-mercantile relations will disappear; the development of the production forces will reach a qualitatively much higher level, collective wealth will be capable of fully satisfying the individual's rational needs and will enable society to inscribe on its banners the shining principle of communist distribution: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need" and the human individual will have a superior culture and social consciousness.

During this phase, the state will wither away, its functions of "directing individuals" will cease, society will directly take in hand the "administration of things" [management of affairs].

050

During the socialist phase, the ownership of the means of production by all the people will not yet have become exclusive because, along with it, there will be cooperative property; class differences will continue; there will be differences between physical and intellectual work, between the cities and the rural areas; work however is primarily a means toward a livelihood and, due to this, the use of material incentives will be required along with moral stimuli; since the use of monetary-mercantile relations will continue to be necessary, the development of the production forces will not yet permit the full satisfaction of the individual's material and spiritual needs and society will uphold the principle of distribution which guarantees the closest combination between social and individual interests:

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

During this phase the state exists as the expression of the interests of the working class in alliance with the cooperativist peasants; intellectual workers will rally around that alliance, giving rise to the most democratic state among all states that have ever existed in the history of mankind.

051

Between capitalism and the socialist phase of the communist economic-social formation, there exists a transition period throughout which all of society's life is transformed;

any possibility of capitalism's restoration will be wiped out; socialism will be built and its state [government] is the [state of] the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Building socialism means this: to do away with all types of private ownership of the means of production in the social economy and, with it, the formation of a single economic system featuring only collective social forms of ownership of the means of production; to reach a high development level in the production forces where social production is based on the mechanization of the fundamental production processes, both industrial and agricultural-livestock, and to attain the corresponding levels in social labor productivity; to make sure that Marxist-Leninist ideology will be broadly dominant in the minds of the majority of the people, that it will become a conviction and a standard predominantly in the social conduct of individuals. It means achieving total and final victory over the old exploiter classes.

The development of the new society through the transition period from capitalism to socialism and of the two phases of communist society is an inevitable objective process, subject to the social laws whose transgression, violation, and erroneous interpretation can introduce interruptions and deviations in social progress. The construction of socialism demands the strict observance and conscious utilization of those laws.

052

Present-day Cuban society is in the period of building socialism, which is why the principal and immediate program objective of the Cuban people is the objective of completing the construction of socialism on the scientific bases of Marxism-Leninism until it has reached the primary phase of communist society.

053

Here is what that means:

The development of the construction of socialism's technical-material base which will require the mechanization of the economy's fundamental production processes; the growth of labor productivity, by far surpassing the labor productivity attained by capitalism in all areas of the economy; establishment of a production structure for the economy's branches and sectors which will guarantee a fast and steady rhythm in economic growth, ensuring the rapid and proportional development of electrification, the chemical industry, metallurgy, the machine-building industry and the construction materials industry; institution of industrial methods primarily in agricultural-livestock production; promotion of science and technology and their application in production; generalized application of the economic management system and its perfection; efficient work on the part of the country's planning agencies;

Development and expansion of socialist production relations until they are the only kind of relations which, through strict compliance with the principle of voluntarism, will lead to the gradual replacement of small farm holdings by cooperative properties or their gradual incorporation into the property of all the people;

In-depth development of the people's multilateral education, developing the political consciousness of the masses; raising their cultural level; strengthening socialist morality which implies a high collectivist spirit and a lofty attitude toward work, based on relations of mutual and brotherly aid; compliance with the other social duties, proletarian internationalism, and revolutionary patriotism; winning victory over the remnants of individualism and all forms of egotism;

Subsequent development of cultural revolution which is carried out currently in Cuba for the purpose of seeing to it that all values and gains of universal science and culture and those created by the socialist society itself, now a-building, will be the patrimony of the vast popular masses so as to put together a high-level management apparatus for society as a whole; and, in general, to forge a society of complete individuals, where science, technology, and culture occupy a guiding position, with the objectives of socialism and communism as the supreme achievements of civilization;

Perfection of the PCC as the highest directing agency of our society's entire life and strengthening of social and mass organizations;

Perfection of socialist state's democratic organization.

With the accomplishment of these complex but beautiful tasks, we will have fundamentally completed the construction of socialism in Cuba. This will enable the Cuban working people and its Communist Party to tackle higher objectives concerning the development and maturation of socialist society until we reach what constitutes the final goal of the working class and its party: the arrival at society's communist phase.

With the culmination of the building of socialism, the Cuban people will have carried out a historical and inevitable duty toward the international proletariat and the peoples of Latin America: the construction of the first socialist society on the American Continent.

054

VI. Economic Policy: Creation of Socialism's Material and Technical Base

From capitalism, Cuba inherited a distorted economic structure with a backward agricultural-livestock base and with very little industrial development, mostly in the sugar industry. This is why the revolution's economic policy is aimed at reorganizing and developing the economy so as to remedy its structural deformation; to develop the nation's industry; to diversify and increase agricultural-livestock production; to increase the exportable items and the export volume; to replace imports and progressively to raise the people's living standard.

055

After the culmination of a first phase providing initial impetus, during which the center of activities and the orientation of investments were fundamentally directed toward the agriculture-livestock sector, while the necessary infrastructure was being created in terms of waterpower facilities, roads, and other construction projects for the purpose of creating the base and conditions for carrying out the industrialization process, the central task of the national economy's development and promotion plans, starting with the next 5-year period [plan] of 1976-1980, will be the country's industrialization.

Industry's main task consists in creating the domestic base necessary for the systematic development of the production forces, supplying industry as such, agriculture, and animal husbandry with equipment and materials; increasing exportable resources; replacing imports; and producing various mass-consumption articles for the population.

In the implementation of this policy, the development of sugar production plays a primary role in view of our great dependence on foreign trade, where sugar carries preponderant weight; this is why the rehabilitation and modernization of this industry, together with the restoration of rail transport connected with it, will be a priority task which will enable our exportable assets to grow.

056

Nickel production will be given accelerated impetus; this involves major investments, both for the rehabilitation of the two existing plants, as well as new plants, so that it may, during the next decade, become a very important item.

We will develop the energy industry and for this we require the installation of new electric power generating capacities, including the construction of Cuba's first atomic-electric powerplant; this way appears to be the most economical solution and, in long-range terms, also the safest.

We will continue to conduct geological prospecting in the search for mineral deposits, including petroleum.

We will develop mining-metallurgy investment plans. The primary task in this development effort will be the construction of the integrated steel industry in the northern part of Oriente, the fundamental future base for our steel industry. This steel industry facility will contribute to the supply of steel products necessary for our machine-building industry which, in turn, will turn out agricultural implements and equipment, industrial equipment, spare parts and parts for construction purposes, so that we may significantly replace imports.

We will develop the chemical industry, especially the nitrogenated and complex [compound] fertilizers and the petrochemical industry for plastics.

Using sugar industry derivatives, we will develop the bagasse and paper pulp industry; the synthetic [composite] board or wood industry; and, using honey, the production of torula for animal fodder.

057

The pharmaceutical and medical instruments industry will be developed.

The rise in our people's living standard will be directly influenced by the development of the textile and shoe industry, as well as those industries which process food based on agriculture, livestock, and fishing derivative products.

We will expand our fishing industry by adding new and modern vessels and developing the canning industry output for the purpose of supplying the population with food and raising its nutritional level in terms of proteins of animal origin and in order to export.

We will increase or initiate the production of durable consumer goods, such as refrigerators, television sets, radios, fans, air conditioning equipment, and others.

058

We will create a strong base for the development of construction activities. We will increase the output of cement and other items in this branch with the objective of ensuring a supply of construction materials in the required quantity and quality.

In the construction industry, we will introduce the most modern techniques and the most advanced methods in work organization, raising the skill level of technicians and workers in this branch. Construction tasks will have to be accomplished by reducing the time required for planning, execution, completion, and delivery of construction projects, improving the quality and reducing the costs.

We will gradually step up housing construction to meet the accumulated needs; we will tackle projects concerning education, public health, and social facilities as well as improvement in the infrastructure of the urban centers and we will continue our policy of urban development in rural areas.

We will allocate major investments to the construction of more medium-level schools in the rural areas and in the cities; to the construction and repair of primary schools and centers of higher education until we can meet all of the great needs which our country has in this respect.

059

We will take special care to ensure the most efficient use of material and human resources on the basis of the principle of producing more and better, at lesser cost. The growth of the industrial output volume will be achieved by raising labor productivity, through the better utilization of installed capacities, the expansion and modernization of existing facilities, the opening of new and modern factories, an increase in the labor force, and a rise in the workers' skill levels.

060

Economic development demands an increase in the transportation volume, both freight and passengers. We will continue to develop domestic freight transportation by highway and urban, inter-city, and inter-provincial passenger transportation. Special attention will be given to the big cities, such as Havana, Santiago de Cuba, and others, where we must have efficient integral passenger transportation systems. Both freight transportation and passenger transportation will be developed according to the principle of speed, safety, waiting time reduction, and punctuality in complying with schedules.

There will be a significant increase in the highway and road mileage. During the next several years, we will complete the construction of the national superhighway.

We will increase transportation by the railroad system as an important national means of transportation. Over the next several years we will finish the reconstruction of the central Havana-Santiago de Cuba Railroad line.

We will devote our attention also to air transport, including service at airports. We will allocate major investments for the expansion and modernization of port facilities by equipping them with highly-productive technology. We will expand and build shippards and we will add to our merchant marine by commissioning modern international transport vessels and we will also develop coastal shipping.

061

1

We will establish a cable and microwave communications system which will guarantee greater efficiency in this service.

Radio and television will cover the entire national territory without exception. We will introduce color television, we will increase the density of the telephone network, and we will perfect the post office, telegraph, and radio communications system, raising their efficiency and speed; we will also develop the first phase of the electronics industry.

062

We will provide impetus for the development of domestic tourism and, to a certain extent, in accord with economic and political convenience, international tourism; here, major investments will be made in the construction of new centers and facilities to take care of domestic and foreign visitors.

063

The country will make major investments in the agriculture and livestock sector to meet the population's growing consumption demands, to supply industry with raw materials, to cut down on food imports, and to generate greater exportable resources. In the light of the above mentioned objectives, the development policy will fundamentally be aimed at bringing about increases in the production of rice, milk, and meat in order to substitute imports; sugarcane, citrus fruits and tobacco, to produce exportable resources, and root crops, vegetables, meat, eggs, fruit, coffee, and other products for the population's supply.

To attain this objective it is necessary, over the next decade, to make use of the cultivable land necessary for this purpose through adequate technological equipment and rational distribution of crop planting efforts over these areas; we will mechanize most of the actual planting activities, the cultivation, and the harvesting of the main production items, especially sugarcane, as well as various animal husbandry activities; we will continue to earmark large investments for soil improvement and fertilization, the use of pesticides and other chemical agents, construction of dams and irrigation systems, with priority on the latter; we will investigate and introduce new breeds of cattle and new, high-yield seed varieties; we will institute higher production forms in the peasant sector and we will establish effective economic relations between the state sector and the private and cooperative sector in the rural areas.

064

Sugarcane will, in the foreseeable future, continue to occupy first place among our crops as a source of raw material for our most important export industry.

During the next 5-year period, the total cane area will have to be stabilized and we will gradually have to increase the per-area yield and mechanize all of the hoisting functions and more than half of the cutting functions.

065

We will continue to make a tremendous effort to increase our beefcattle population by improving the breeds and increasing their yield.

The development of animal husbandry will require a corresponding increase in the fodder base, in veterinary services, and in investigations concerned with the improvement of breeds, in accordance with the economic objectives.

We will allocate large resources for the construction and expansion of warehouses, meat-packing plants, and other facilities, as well as industrial processing plants, as required by the increase in the food product output.

We will provide impetus for the development of agricultural and livestock sciences and their application in production. The research institutions, the experimental stations, and the agricultural-livestock teaching centers will play an important role in this sense.

067

Agricultural-livestock production will be developed primarily through the intensive method—increasing labor productivity, raising the crop and cattle yield, and cutting costs—and by utilizing the possibilities still presented by the extensive method, adding more cultivable surface to the production process.

We will strengthen economic relations and trade between the state, the peasants, and the cooperatives through an adequate purchase and sales price system, as well as a [farm] loan and taxation system. The state will supply industrial products for personal consumption, as well as equipment and materials for the peasants and cooperatives and the latter must offer raw material to the industries, especially food products for the population.

068

The development of the national economy, especially new investments, will be carried out with a view to the reliable distribution of production forces over the various development zones. This territorial distribution will be made on a suitable basis in each case, moving the production centers—to the extent possible and advisable—closer to the sources of their raw material, to manpower, lines of communication, and consumer concentration zones; we must seek to utilize historically established population centers or we must develop new urban centers. It is necessary to keep in mind furthermore the port facilities and the availability of water supply sources.

On the basis of rational economic principles, we will reorganize the technical-material supply system through a nationwide network which will guarantee the efficient movement of raw materials and other materials, which is why modern warehouses will be constructed throughout the country.

069

As a requirement for the technological development of the national economy's various branches and especially as a requirement in the industrialization process which we are now promoting, we will have to set up and develop a nationwide standardization, metrology, and quality control system which will guarantee technical discipline and production quality, both with regard to semifinished goods which are included in the production process, as well as consumer goods for the population, and those goods which constitute the nation's exportable assets.

We will provide impetus for the beautification and development of Havana as the nation's most important economic, political, cultural, and artistic center; we will

continue to implement a rational population policy here at the same time. In the republic's capital, investments will be concentrated on the increase in production and service centers on a high technical level and in the remodeling of the city by building homes and expanding and modernizing the water supply system, lines of communication, the urban transportation system, the retail trade network, commercial and public services, as well as recreational, athletic, and cultural facilities. We will also see to the development of Santiago de Cuba, the cradle of the revolution, and the other provincial capitals.

070

Special attention will be given to the real purchasing power of the Cuban peso. It will be based on an adequate balance of the population's income and expenditures so that the cash capacity of the people will be adequately counterbalanced by available commodities to guarantee the rational and adequate rise in the living standard.

Through the growth of the production forces, development of foreign trade, output increase, domestic monetary balance, and the generalized application of payment according to the quantity and quality of workdone, we will gradually restrict the area of distribution in which we have to maintain the rationing requirements which will then be reduced to those primary necessities where the supply is still insufficient to meet the growing needs of the people through an open market and through prices within everyone's reach, taking into account the fact that it is and always will be the revolution's fundamental preoccupation to ensure the distribution of goods essential to life, based on the principle of justice and social solidarity, so that the lowest-income families may have access to these goods.

Work income is the principal source for the satisfaction of the workers' material and cultural needs. An important element in the balance of money in circulation is the wage policy which will be established on the basis of work quantity and quality. The party will devote special attention to scientific work organization and to the perfection of the wage system, gradually raising the lowest wages and increasing the national average wage, taking into account the fact that the rhythm of that increase must be slower than the labor productivity growth rate. The population's money income during that period will play the most important role in the elevation of the people's well-being in accord with the strengthening of monetary-mercantile relations under socialism.

A growing part of the workers! necessities is being met by social consumption funds, especially those destined for public health and education activities.

071

Labor productivity will play the most important role in increasing the national output; this is why it will be necessary to concentrate attention on the broadest mechanization of production processes, the gradual introduction of automation, specialization and concentration, the systematic raising of quality, the improvement of the territorial and branch distribution of the production forces; the fastest introduction of scientific-technological advances into production, raising the skill levels of the workers and perfecting the scientific organization and direction of production processes and the wage system.

The rise in the people's living standard will in the final analysis depend on the rise in the output and in social labor productivity which is why we will work hard so that we may be able to utilize all possibilities of socialism to attain its constant growth.

072

Through the various government agencies, the party will provide impetus for an effort aimed at spelling out the general, long-term development lines; this will permit a specific orientation for the drafting of the five-year plans. The economy's long-term development strategy will provide a scientific foundation for the general objectives which must be attained according to the various alternatives; this is why, within longer-range prospects than the 5-year plans, we will work out science and technology as well as population development forecasts—including skilled labor—and forecasts for the foreign sector, natural resources and their utilization, prices and distribution relations, and others.

Economic development strategy will be an extraordinarily valuable instrument in raising the quality of planning activities.

073

The PCC will continue firmly to carry out its policy of expanding and developing in depth its economic relations with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

As part of the CEMA accords, agreements were signed between Cuba, the USSR, and the other socialist countries in order to significantly develop the production of nickel in the northern part of Oriente. We are also studying other possibilities of mutually beneficial collaboration with the objective of primarily supplying the socialist markets and increasing Cuba's financing and import possibilities in terms of foreign trade.

We will also develop economic relations with the other countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa.

The positive tendency toward the national recovery of natural resources, which has been registered in recent years in Latin America and in the Caribbean, creates the possibility for Cuban participation in the commercial and economic unions which are now being formed in this region, thus cooperating with the integration plans being developed on this continent.

Taking into account our economy's necessity relating to the import of technologies and raw materials as well as trade possibilities, Cuba will continue to develop and expand economic relations with all developed capitalist countries, fighting, in coordination with the underdeveloped countries, to get adequate prices and fair trade relations, always on the basis of the strict observation of national sovereignty and noninterference in domestic matters.

### VII. Economic Management and Planning System

The increase in the national output volume, the increase in the complexity of relations among its various sections, the purpose of meeting the people's growing needs and offering our solidary aid to the development of other peoples, and, related to that, the need for making the most efficient use of material, labor, and financial resources—these determine the need for adopting and carrying out, throughout the country, an adequate system of national economic management and planning.

In contrast to capitalism, socialism is not guided by the profit motive, nor does it organize its production apparatus in disregard of the social and human value of its production efforts. It seeks to satisfy the individual's material and spiritual needs in accordance with the objectives of a just society where the individual's material and moral wellbeing is the reason for the existence of the country's economy. But, in turn, we must see to it that the production machinery will function with maximum efficiency by applying the most suitable methods and using the solid principles of Marxism-Leninism and the rich experience which the international revolutionary movement has acquired in the construction of socialism over recent decades, applying it to our specific conditions with a creative spirit.

075

The economic management system must be based on the recognition of the objective character of socialism's economic laws; on the necessity of centralized planning combined with autonomy of enterprises in terms of their economic-operational management; on the existence and most efficient utilization of money-merchandise relations and the law of value, including relations between government enterprises, making adequate use of finances and their categories: government budget, credit, price, cost, profit, profitability, etc.; on the principle that the enterprises, as a standard, must replace their costs with their incomes and, moreover, create a surplus, although this does not necessarily rule out the possibilities that certain production centers, by virtue of the specific character, importance, and circumstances of their activities, could be subsidized by the rest of the national economy; on the utilization of a sure combination of material and moral, individual and collective stimuli and on remuneration based on work quantity and quality, a principle applicable both to individual workers and teams as well as the enterprises themselves.

076

The application of the economic management system must be accompanied by the essential task of preserving and developing the political, revolutionary, and communist conscience of our workers through the systematic dissemination of Marxist-Leninist principles, through the development of volunteer work and socialist competition as efficient instruments for their development along the lines of the new morality and attitude toward work and through a broad system of moral stimuli as social recognition for vanguard and outstanding attitudes.

The economic management system will decisively contribute to the development of the economic awareness of the leading cadres of the party and the state, as well as the workers, and will assure their active participation—that is, workers, peasants, and cooperative members—in the drafting of the corresponding economic plans and in supervision over their implementation.

The principle of individual and collective material responsibility for failure to carry out orders, for errors and deficiencies must occupy an important place in the management system.

077

The economic management system requires an adequate planning system which must be the way toward the development of socialist production relations.

Planning is the central link in national economic management. It must objectively reflect the processes which must take place in the country's economic-life and it must exert active influence on them through the constant elevation of its scientific level which will eliminate any features of voluntarism and subjectivism.

The following are basic factors in raising the quality of planning: perfection of the statistical information system in accordance with the requirements for the drafting, control, and analysis of plan compliance, avoiding unnecessary information and duplication; strengthening discipline in compliance with economic, administrative, and statistical regulations; and correct formation and selection of skilled specialists for economic management and planning functions in organizations and enterprises.

Planning must with precision direct and control the volume, structure, and dynamics of the economy's principal indicators, guaranteeing the establishment of the most adequate proportions between the national economy's sectors, branches, spheres, and parts.

Planning is a single system which must combine the enterprise and branch plans with the national economic plan in the most rational form; it must also guarantee the correct production force proportions and distribution in territorial aspects as an important factor in the implementation of economic-social policy. For these purposes it will be necessary to set up economic and administrative mechanisms which will combine the necessary centralization with the autonomy and initiative of the enterprises, the intermediate links, and the local agencies of people's power.

Planning of investments, correct evaluation of their economic effectiveness, and the reduction of construction times as well as the commissioning of facilities, accompanied by the strictest control and analysis of their execution and actual results assume special importance here.

The development of the socialist economy requires the employment of the most modern electronic computation methods in planning, information gathering, control, and management of economic activities. Its application must be technologically and economically supported so as to guarantee a saving in social labor as compared to the traditional methods.

078

The establishment of the economic management system throughout the country will give rise to profound changes in all areas, among which the following stand out:

Creation of new government agencies which will assume responsibility for management in the areas of prices, finances, arbitration, technical-material supply, and other matters;

Establishment of monetary-mercantile relations in the state sector, of the most suitable mechanisms for this purpose, and their constant perfection;

Establishment of an accounting system which—while maintaining the flexibility required by the differences between the various economic activities—will guarantee the necessary uniformity for analysis and planning on all levels, as well as its constant perfection as a means of registration and financial control;

Institution of the government budget system—both national and lower—level budgets of the people's government—and constant perfection of the methodology employed in budget drafting as well as its role as an effective means for strict monetary control over the state's economic activities;

Institution of an adequate price system as the state's economic policy management system, as an element for national income redistribution, and as a factor in the policy of stimulating government enterprises, cooperatives, and individual peasants;

Reorganization and adaptation of the banking system and its new functions which include extending loans: a means for the utilization of temporarily idle money and a way to the constant strengthening of financial discipline and control;

Drafting, application, and perfection of a planning methodology and an economic statistics system which, while adjusted to the requirements of the Economic Management System, will constitute a suitable way toward its efficient functioning and development;

Rational organization of enterprises and their gradual incorporation into the system, so that they will constitute efficient basic units for economic calculation and will permit their further development;

Drafting of inventory, material consumption and work expenditure norms for the enterprises and branches of the national economy and their constant revision and perfection as an important factor in raising the efficiency of economic activities;

Training of medium-level and higher-level cadres and technicians--at first on an urgent basis and later on on a systematic basis--for employment in economic management and administration;

Drafting and approval of legal and juridical documents providing standards for the economic management system in terms of its establishment, operation and further development.

The Economic Management and Planning System is a powerful and indispensable tool in the construction of the socialist society. Its establishment will mark the beginning of a long process of perfection and development of all of its aspects. A fundamental task here is the permanent observation and analysis of its functions and its systematic adaptation to the development level of the production forces and of socialist production relations.

079

VIII. Labor and Social Policy

Throughout all of these years, the Revolution has tried very hard to improve the people's living and working conditions. Men and women today are guaranteed the

right to work and are entitled to protection against being laid off; [they are entitled] to an 8-hour working day, protection, as well as work safety and hygiene; paid vacations; retirement; protection in case of disability and social security in case of illness or maternity.

Basic services preserving public health, guaranteeing training and education for children and youngsters, and contributing to the elevation of the workers! cultural and technical level are today rendered free of charge.

Unemployment, idle times, evictions, illiteracy, sex or racial discrimination are now behind us—in other words, everything that happened under the capitalist system, everything that turns man into the enemy of man, everything that bases work discipline on the discipline of hunger.

080

Our labor policy has been drafted within the framework of economic principles and laws governing the phase of building socialism. The consistent implementation of the socialist distribution principle—from each according to his ability and to each according to his work—will be the guiding orientation in this activity.

This policy implies the development and perfection of the wage system and of work organization and standardization on scientific bases; the elevation of the workers' technical-professional level; the development of material and moral incentives on the basis of individual and collective work results.

We will implement an employment policy which will reconcile the individual interests of the workers with the social interests, employing motivations of a moral and material nature in order to direct the labor force toward those economy sectors and branches and those regions of the country where economic development may be most necessary; and we will increasingly create conditions to incorporate an ever larger number of women in social labor.

It is necessary to create and strengthen a conscious, socialist labor discipline, based on cooperation, mutual aid, transmission of experiences, as well as the workers' political, cultural, and technical development. In this sense, our activity will be aimed at developing, broadening, and perfecting socialist competition, the innovator and rationalizer movement as well as volunteer work—the exponents of a new awareness which sustains labor discipline under socialism.

081

Free volunteer work to the benefit of society as a whole is, by virtue of its character, a manifestation of our workers' communist conscience and their advancement and development on the basis of the economic rationality and efficiency of its implementation; it will be a permanent task of our party, a duty to be accomplished by the labor unions and the other mass organizations, and a responsibility of the government agencies and the enterprise managements in terms of creating the necessary conditions and rendering the required support so as to achieve its adequate execution.

It is a permanent task in our country to maintain the people's health. The party considers the following necessary in order to preserve the health and prolong the life of the workers:

To expand and perfect the medical and hospital care system; to develop preventive medicine; to provide impetus for rural medicine; to increase studies on labor medicine and their application to the treatment of occupational diseases; and to raise the people's health culture level;

To prevent contamination of the environment; to improve hygienic-sanitary conditions in urban and rural population centers; to perfect the work protection, safety, and hygiene system;

To guarantee a secure and happy old age by enlarging the network of old-age retirement homes, developing the social security system, and creating conditions so that retirees, who so desire, may go back to social labor [go back to work].

083

The Revolution has laid the foundations for the liberation of women and it is a task of the party during this phase to achieve their full social equality, to increase their participation in social labor and their promotion to management functions. In relation to these objectives, new children's nurseries and kindergartens will be created, both on a semi-boarding and full-boarding basis; we will increase and improve public services which contribute to the reduction in domestic occupations; we will also take measures in order increasingly to assure the supply of family-use electrical household appliances; all of this, combined with a training and education effort, will facilitate their fuller integration into all activities of society.

The party dedicates its most careful attention to the family as the basic cell of society. The family must fundamentally adopt the principles of morality and education postulated by our Revolution, progressively eliminating the elements of material dependence among its members, consolidating itself on the basis of common spiritual interests.

Family education and community education will be linked ever more firmly through the education and upbringing of the new generations, thus creating conditions for the greater participation of the family members in social labor.

084

Housing is one of the most critical social problems which mankind faces at this time; nevertheless, one of the most important objectives of socialist society is to solve this problem. For this purpose, efforts and resources will be devoted to the creation of more and more housing in order to end the existing housing shortage. We will work out a specific housing program on the basis of a single long-range development plan for the country's cities and towns, taking into account the fact that the expansion for creation of a community must insure the proper working, living, recreation, and integral development conditions for the inhabitants.

Our people's well-being and its rise to ever higher cultural levels will be determined increasingly by the amount and quality of services received. With this objective in

mind, we will expand and improve the commercial service networks, cultural centers, recreation and athletic facilities, as well as sparetime and rest facilities.

One vital task is represented by the effort aimed at wiping out the remnants of the social gaps inherited from the bourgeois system. Consequently, we will take measures to combat and wipe out manifestations of antisocial conduct which may still exist.

The party aspires to a situation in which our future generations will develop amid spiritual and physical health. It wants to make sure that they will be more cultured and more capable and that they will be firmer in terms of their will and character. Our party's future lies in its children and youngsters. The society of tomorrow will present a panorama of educated and strong generations in an environment of perpetual creation.

IX. Education, Culture, and Science Policy

Education

085

The PCC's educational policy is based on the Marxist-Leninist concept and on Marti's principles on education of the younger generation.

The ultimate purpose of education is to develop the younger generation along the ideological and moral principles of communism, turning these principles into personal convictions and daily habits, promoting fully developed individuals able to live and work in the new society.

086

In line with this, education policy has the following fundamental objectives:

To shape integrally developed personalities able to receive and enjoy the attainments of national and universal culture and contribute to its development;

To prepare skilled workers and cadres by imparting to them the skills necessary for assuming the responsibilities demanded by our economic, social, and scientific-technological development, capable of applying the constantly advancing new production techniques; active agents in the subsequent development of the production forces and the production relations;

To educate children and teenagers in our people's revolutionary, labor, and cultural traditions, inculcating in them a high sense of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, preparing them for the active defense of the fatherland and for readiness to fight against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology and morality;

To stimulate the bonds between youngsters and the fighting men of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior--the permanent defenders of our people's great gains.

Finally, to prepare the younger generations so that its members will be active as fully developed individuals.

Great impetus has been given in recent years to implementation of the principle of combining study and work as an important element in the integral formation of our youth. The development of this principle in our education pursues a dual purpose: the first is formative in nature, and the second productive in nature.

Through the government education agencies, the party will work toward the accomplishment of the formative and productive aspects of combining study and work. For this purpose, we will select the most suitable forms for linking these two together in accordance with the different levels of education, making sure that work, in the course of technical—occupational training and higher education, will be accomplished within the most suitable activities and professions, in consonance with the special field for which the young person is being prepared.

088

It is necessary to redouble our efforts to create conditions which will enable us to proceed to a general mandatory 9-grade education system during the first phase, with a view to its subsequent elevation. It will be determined according to the possibilities, necessities, and interests stated in economic-social development plans and the progress of the scientific-technological revolution.

The school must play an ever greater role as a multilateral formation center for children and teenagers, with the active participation of political and mass organizations. To be able to achieve this goal, we will carry out a permanent effort aimed at perfecting the national education system, raising the skills of teaching personnel, expanding and improving existing facilities and creating other, new ones. Special attention will be devoted in this sense to the quality and strengthening of primary education as the basic link in the teaching and education process.

The government education agencies, in coordination with the social and mass organizations and with the decisive support of the parents, will carry out an intensive effort with a view to the greater utilization of school and academic facilities and the attainment of high-quality graduating classes. Particular attention will be given to the rural and mountain areas where we face the most complex situations.

089

The perfection of training for medium-level and higher-level technical cadres, the elevation of their job skills in accordance with the requirements springing from the national economy's level of organization, management, and development—these constitute a primordial objective of our education policy. We will consistently raise the level of technical and scientific rigor at study centers on various levels and at the same time we will progressively expand and improve our technical and teaching equipment and the entire material base for study at installations employed by the above—mentioned education centers.

We will tackle the effort to adapt the organizational and management structure of higher education so that they will constitute a harmonious and single system of education centers, with correct structures in terms of special fields and objectives corresponding to development planning and including universities, as well as

specialized institutes and schools, so that we may be able with greater effectiveness to satisfy the demand for graduates with a higher education.

Particular attention will be given to measures to be adopted to guarantee adequate stability, high qualification, and continuous advanced training for the teaching body at medium and higher-level education centers; to work dealing with an increase in school attendance, and graduating classes, as well as the quality and level of graduates.

090

Building socialism in Cuba, within the framework of the contemporary scientific-technological revolution, demands that higher-level graduates continue to improve their skills systematically. This also calls for periodic adjustment of study programs. For this purpose, we will organize postgraduate courses in the various special fields and we will establish a single system of scientific diplomas.

091

Adult education--in particular, worker education, without their leaving their jobs--will have to be given the most active support by the educational, political, social, and mass organizations.

The teaching staff must receive strong political and ideological training, along with scientific and technical-pedagogic knowledge appropriate for the functions to be performed. In regard to this, we will take necessary measures to make sure that all teaching personnel will attain the levels demanded by the high mission.

Culture

092

Socialist society demands an art and a literature which—while providing esthetic enjoyment—will contribute to the people's education. We must establish a highly creative climate which will provide impetus for progress in art and literature as a legitimate aspiration of the working masses. Art and literature will promote love of work and the highest human values. They will enrich the life of our people and will actively participate in the development of the communist personality.

Cultural policy in the area of artistic creation will stimulate manifestations of art and culture with a class-oriented spirit within the principles of Marxism-Leninism which, in this sense, will cover the following aspects: the assimilation of the best traditions of national culture; the critical acquisition, reprocessing, and development of universal culture; the utilization of the most varied and creative forms of artistic expression; the realistic reflection of the world in which we live and the stimulus for a creative vision of the future; the interconnection of art and literature with the life of the masses and their most vital interests; the rejection of capitalism's outdated and antihumanist artistic and literary manifestations and the formation of the individual within the sentiments of solidarity with all progressive and revolutionary movements.

093

Measures will be taken to continue increasing our cultural installations and their material base, such as: the network of libraries, theaters, museums, motion picture

houses, conference and reading rooms; expansion of publishing and press activities; perfection of radio and television broadcasts; development of cinematographic studies; creation and development of art schools and workshops; strengthening and development of the professional organization of Cuban writers and artists.

We will step up international cultural relations, particularly with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, and we will pay special attention in this sense to relations with socialist countries through exchange of artistic works, specialists, and researchers; we will stage cultural conferences and joint artistic productions; etc.

We will promote amateur arts to contribute to the rise of new values in artistic manifestations, and in this way we will promote the elevation of the people's culture in a massive form. At the same time we will work hard to incorporate artistic training into our teaching programs in grade schools in order to assist in the integral development of our people.

Science

094

Upon the triumph of the revolution we faced the urgent necessity of raising the population's educational level and providing for large-scale training of technicians. These facts constitute a basis for scientific development which, in turn, will create conditions for the accelerated development of the production forces and the integral education of the individual.

095

The party will pay special attention to the promotion of scientific development, basing the effort in this field on the following fundamental principles:

Planned development of science and technology as a function of social progress;

Adequate combination of basic and applied research with emphasis on the latter;

Assimilation and utilization of technologies and advances achieved by other countries:

Rapid introduction--with an economic criterion in mind--of the results of research in production;

Progressive strengthening of the scientific-technical potential through the development of material and human resources.

096

Primordial aspects in the implementation of scientific policy include the creation and development of a nationwide scientific and technological information system and collaboration with friendly countries, especially the countries of the socialist community.

We will also stimulate the training of highly skilled scientific cadres, at both domestic and foreign centers, especially in the socialist countries.

The fundamental objectives of scientific-technological policy in the field of the social sciences fit within the framework of studies aimed at raising the scientific-technical character of the management of society and its consistent development. This objective will be achieved through the adequate orientation of social, economic, and other research programs, starting with the general laws of the construction of socialism and communism, the utilization of experience accumulated by the socialist countries in these tasks, and the concrete conditions of our national development. At the same time, it is necessary to consider the fact that Cuba is the first socialist country on the American continent and we must therefore devote special attention to the problems affecting our American reality.

In the field of natural sciences development, work will be devoted to the investigation of the country's natural resources and possibilities for their utilization in the economy and in other spheres of the nation's life. We will spell out specific objectives to be attained through research in the various branches and sectors of scientific activity, promoting adequate coordination between the various research and production organizations.

### X. Ideological Policy

098

Marxism-Leninism--the high point in the evolution of mankind's economic, political, social, and philosophical thinking, which adopted the banners of the struggle for liberty and the full dignity of man, the scientific concept of the world and society, and the revolutionary theory and ideology of the working class--is the foundation for the action of the PCC in successfully coming to grips with its historical task.

099

In our people's fight for great social-economic achievements, we can observe an important ideological change which is expressed in the triumph of the ideas of scientific socialism in Cuba.

But the defeated classes, along with their main support, imperialism, do not resign themselves to the final loss of their privileges, nor do they renounce attempts at a bourgeois restoration. That is why they encourage, by all possible means, those ideological factors, sentiments, prejudices, and customs which favor their reactionary objectives and which could slow down and obstruct the progress of revolutionary construction.

On the other hand, as a consequence of past bourgeois domination and the existence of numerous strata in the petty bourgeoisie, Cuban society revealed the rise and development of ideological concepts and attitudes whose most characteristic manifestations are as follows: individualism; egotism; localism; accommodation and irresponsibility toward collective duties and social property; improper use of personal influence; a false concept of friendship; bureaucratism; lack of critical and self-critical value; instability and hesitation, etc. During the period of socialism's constructions, we can still find manifestations of some of these aspects which constitute fertile ground for ideas alien to Marxism-Leninism.

In the current situation of class confrontation on a worldwide level, characterized by the change in international relations imposed by the growing power of the socialist countries, first of all, the Soviet Union, the role played by the ideological struggle thus has moved on to an even more relevant plane.

In the terrain of the class struggle, especially in the field of ideology, the fundamental political weapon of the international monopolies and the domestic oligarchies is anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, an even more common variety, behind which are hidden, above all, those who want to present themselves as having certain left-wing pretenses. Its fundamental content is the falsification of the ideology of the working class, slander against the theory and practice of the construction of socialism and communism, and the tergiversation of the policy of the communist parties.

Particular importance is also assumed by revisionist currents and manifestations, both on the right and on the "left," which, from supposedly Marxist, leftist, or ultrarevolutionary positions, are objectively in the service of imperialist policy and foment the division of the revolutionary and progressive forces.

Tasks in the Ideological Struggle

101

The party believes that the following are the principal tasks for our people's communist education and for the domestic and foreign ideological confrontation:

The broadest possible dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, at the same time providing for an in-depth development of the analysis of our publications and their function as propagation instruments for the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and as tools in the communist education of the people;

Defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism; struggle against the concepts and theories of the bourgeoisie, of imperialism and its servants, emphasizing the crisis in which they are; opposition to and confrontation with all manifestations of ideological diversionism through the study of the scientific ideology of the working class and the knowledge of the laws of social development;

Exposure of the insidious anti-Soviet campaigns, pointing up the role of the USSR in the worldwide struggle for social progress and in the creation of the most favorable conditions for the struggle of the peoples for their final liberation;

Opposition to the concepts sustained by rightwing revisionists who deny the class struggle and the guiding role of the working class in the socialist revolution, unmasking them as the shameful defenders of the bourgeois order;

Consistent battle against the political and ideological positions of the "leftwing" revisionists as well as those of dogmatism and sectarianism; pointing out the anti-Soviet "leftwing" phony revolutionaries as the objective servants of imperialism and as enemies of mankind;

The education of our people in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism and profound internationalism, based on the bonds of friendship between Cuba and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; and support for the struggle of the working class and the peoples for their liberation;

Struggle to overcome the ideological remnants of the old society and its diverse manifestations of a petit bourgeois character;

Struggle against propaganda about the "advances of the consumer society," exposing its enormous inequalities, its base of exploitation, its social consequences, and its inevitable economic ruin;

Education of the people in the principles of socialist morality based on brotherly relations of collaboration and mutual aid between individuals; on the development of a communist attitude toward work and social duties;

Dissemination of the example of the vanguard collectives and workers, thus helping to consolidate and generalize the most heroic traditions of our workers;

Fight against bureaucratic manifestations, combining the education effort and ideological training, participation of the popular masses and their organizations as well as party and government agencies;

In-depth development of a massive economic conscience which will jealously watch over socialist property through the saving of production resources and through efficient management;

The fight against prejudices and remnants of the past which make it difficult to achieve full social equality for women;

The gradual elimination of religious beliefs, combining materialist scientific propaganda with a rise in the workers! cultural level;

The historical and theoretical systematization of the Cuban revolutionary process, refuting its false interpretations and demonstrating its subjection to the objective laws of social development and its character deriving from the existing necessities and the historical conditions in Cuba;

Argumentation in support of the guiding function of the Communist Party as the only force capable of directing the construction of socialism and communism;

The disclosure and explanation of the character of socialist democracy, its representative institutions, and its superiority over bourgeois democracy in any of its manifestations;

The development of a revolutionary intelligentsia, fully identified with the interests of the working class and socialism;

The concentration and unity of action of all mass media in the leadership groups in charge of the ideological struggle, improving the effectiveness of our propaganda while broadening work coordination in this field with the brother parties and the revolutionary movements.

Education in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the development of the ideological struggle in general will have to be closely tied to the specific problems of the construction of socialism in Cuba as they relate to the field of the economy, politics, social and cultural buildup, and international relations.

Study of Marxism-Leninism

102

Special attention will be devoted to the generalization of the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism, considered an instrument of decisive relevance in the successful development of the ideological struggle; in the in-depth development of the people's revolutionary awareness; and in properly fighting our enemies.

The leading role which the party must play in building the socialist society requires its cadres and militants to study the principles of the working class' ideology with the profoundness required and in accordance with the functions they perform. This will give them a solid Marxist-Leninist culture which will constitute a permanent objective of the policy of training the party's cadres and militants.

103

In the UJC [Union of Young Communists], the party has its vanguard youth detachment and its main source of growth which explains the importance and interest inherent in the Marxist-Leninist training of its cadres and militants.

The party will promote the study of Marxism-Leninism by the cadres of the state and the mass organizations.

Among the main objectives of this education effort we have the development of the younger generation in terms of a scientific concept of the world and a communist attitude toward life. The party will see to it that education in sciences will have a Marxist focus and will insure the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in the educational system, emphasizing its role as a guiding science which must preside over the development of our knowledge.

Special attention will be given to the Marxist-Leninist education of high school teachers and college professors as well as art and cultural workers who, by virtue of their function, play an important role in the education of our children, teenagers, and the people in general.

Through the selection of books and materials to be used and published, we will make sure that they correspond to the essential principles of Marxism-Leninism, far from the revisionist, dogmatic, and phony-Marxist concepts.

Attitude Toward Religion

104

Among the forms of social consciousness we have religion which is characterized by the fact that it constitutes an upside-down and fantastic reflection of external reality. The Marxist concept considers that the final elimination of religious manifestations and ideas is possible only by transforming the world on which religion

reflects erroneously, wiping out the social causes which originate it and developing an educational effort on the basis of the scientific concept of nature, society, and thought.

In analyzing the religious issue, the party considers two aspects which can be differentiated: On the one hand, relations with specific religions and their faithful and, on the other hand, the attitude toward religion as an ideology, as a form of social awareness.

With regard to the first question, the party sustains the principles of freedom of conscience, in other words, the right of citizens to profess or not to profess any religion; to practice religion within the bounds of the law; the inadmissibility of using any religion to fight the revolution and socialism; the obligation to abide by the law and the recognition of the same social rights and duties, both for the faithful and for the nonbelievers; scientific education and the lay school; attention to material problems of religious installations which may require the support of government agencies.

With regard to the second aspect, the party's policy in this field is subordinated to the battle for the construction of the new society and the consolidation of socialist production relations; the essential points are the systematic and patient dissemination of the concepts of scientific socialism among the masses; not employing anti-religious campaigns, nor coercive or administrative measures against religion; rejection of any manifestation of isolation of believers by attracting them to the specific tasks of the revolution; the requirement for party and UJC militants to have an ideological background in agreement with Marxist theoretical foundations.

On an international scale and especially in Latin America, the party positively evaluates the activity of the many advanced and renewal-oriented Christian sectors which participate in the fight for national liberation, confronting imperialism and the Spanish-American oligarchies, while exhibiting and propagating the successes of the new life in Cuba and its socialist revolution as examples to be followed.

Mass Communications Media

105

The party will give systematic orientation and attention to the mass communications media and will promote the enthusiastic and creative participation of all workers employed in them, drawing support from the communists and the activity of the labor union movement and the newspapermen's and writers' guilds, in order to make sure that radio, television, and the printed press, as well as the movies, will ever more effectively perform their function of providing for the population's political, ideological, cultural, scientific-technological, moral, and esthetic education; for the conscious mobilization of the masses toward the accomplishment of the country's social-economic development tasks; to provide information on domestic and international events and to meet the people's spiritual and recreational needs, especially the needs of children and teenagers.

With a view to the subsequent perfection of the activities of the mass communications media and especially in order to strengthen their role in the process of socialist construction, the party will give them every support and assistance in the adoption of measures leading to the successive quantitative increase and qualitative elevation

of the level of information supplied to the people, as well as the exercise of criticism on political and ideological issues revolving around literary and artistic activities and with regard to the deficient aspects or errors of economic and administrative management.

The party will improve the efficiency of the established mechanisms and will create those that may be necessary to guarantee that the management personnel in the mass communications media will—in compliance with their specific responsibilities—have the broadest possible information, knowledge of long-range plans and of the progress of government activities, as well as the party's national and international policy.

#### XI. International Policy

106

The objectives and character of our revolution determine the bases of Cuba's international policy. Proletarian internationalism constitutes the essence and the point of departure for the PCC's international policy which is guided by the following principles:

Subordination of foreign policy to the general interests of the victory of socialism and communism and national liberation of the peoples, defeat of imperialism and elimination of colonialism, neocolonialism, and any form of exploitation and discrimination against peoples and individuals;

Unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism with the socialist countries and with the international worker and communist movement, and condemnation of all variations of opportunism and, among them, leftism in terms of words and rightism in terms of results, which turn anti-Sovietism and division into a dangerous weapon that obstructs the acceleration of the causes of national liberation and socialism, thus in fact serving the policy of imperialism and reactionaries of all kinds;

Consolidation of bonds of cooperation in all respects with the countries of the socialist community in defense of the socialist revolution's gains and for the strengthening of the international socialist system;

Fomenting of detente and peaceful coexistence between states and achievement of a peace which will benefit all peoples and which will extend to all parts of the world. Along these lines, it will determine its participation in international organizations and events, thus taking care of the general interests of the peoples and of socialism;

Establishment of international relations in general and friendly relations with all states on the basis of strictest respect for equality, sovereignty, independence, and national integrity;

Recognition of the right of peoples to win-by all means within their reach--their real and definitive economic and social independence and freely to determine the economic-social system under which they will have to live;

Stimulation of and support for all those who in the capitalist world are fighting for social progress and liquidation of the exploitation of man by man.

Consistent with these principles and conscious of the necessity of materializing them in the form of new and firm conquests by the international proletariat, the worldwide revolutionary process, and the socialist system, the party defines the following fundamental objectives for Cuba's foreign policy:

To contribute to the consolidation and development of the gains of the Cuban revolution, to assure Cuba's defense and to strengthen Cuba's international position and that of the socialist community more and more;

To develop and promote in depth multifaceted relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries. Along these lines, Cuba's participation in CEMA opens up prospects for a higher level in the practice of socialist internationalism and in the utilization of the advantages offered by the socialist international division of labor;

To participate in the fight against imperialism as the principal agent of aggression and war and as the worst enemy of mankind, and to help eliminate all forms of colonialism, neocolonialism, and other manifestations of oppression and subjugation of peoples;

To work for the cohesion of the anti-imperialist struggle by uniting those forces which are fighting for social progress;

To contribute to the development of the worldwide revolutionary process and the triumph of socialism throughout the world;

As a young and revolutionary nation emerging from imperialist rule, to lend all of its support to the movement of the nonaligned countries, working for its unification around a progressive and anti-imperialist program, leading the action aimed at the unmasking of its enemies;

To oppose any direct or indirect imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of any state, especially armed and economic aggressions and the imperialist policy aimed at creating and stimulating foci of war in various parts of the world;

To provide economic cooperation and technical assistance, to the extent of our possibilities, for other peoples of the underdeveloped world whose governments are making a sincere effort to find adequate and fair solutions for their economic and social problems;

To work stubbornly in order to consolidate a dignified and lasting peace for all peoples in accordance with the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence between countries having different social systems, for the termination of the arms race, general and complete disarmament, and the total ban on the use of nuclear weapons as well as the dismantling of imperialist military bases in various countries;

To develop diplomatic and commercial relations with all countries, even with those that have economic, political, and social systems different from ours. With capitalist countries, in general, we will maintain relations on the basis of the principles enunciated, under conditions of absolute equality and total respect for our sovereignty, to the exclusion of any type of interference or intervention in our nation's internal affairs;

To work in order to come up with specific forms of cooperation with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean which will lead to higher objectives of independence. For this purpose, Cuba is inclined toward the establishment of economic complementation bonds with a view to subsequent integration with those countries to whom we are linked as brothers by our history and our struggles;

To fight resolutely for the future economic integration and political unity of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean who are called upon to constitute a great revolutionary community which, because of its vast human and natural resources, will have to occupy a worthy and honorable place in the world of tomorrow.

XII. Political Organization of Cuban Society

108

Our society's political organization is based on the Marxist-Leninist concept and principles regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat which is founded on the alliance of the working class with the working farmers and the other manual and intellectual workers, under the hegemony of that class and under the direction of its vanguard detachment which is organized in the PCC.

The hegemonic role of the working class within the overall complex of social forces making up society is given to that class because it is objectively the most revolutionary class in history due to the position which it occupies in the production process, due to the fact that it is not linked to any form of private ownership of production resources, which means that it cannot liberate itself without at the same time liberating all society; to the fact that it is a numerically large class, with a high degree of concentration which enables it to reach a high level of cohesion and organization and to develop a class-oriented consciousness; to its character as the principal production force and determinant factor in modern industry and agriculture. All of this means that it is the objective carrier of social equality, of the extinction of classes and exploitation, and it is called upon to guide all society in the process of building socialism and developing the socialist phase toward the higher phase of communism.

Throughout its history, the Cuban working class, together with the rest of the working people, has given proof of growing political maturity, class-oriented awareness, ideological solidity, and fighting ability.

109

The worker-peasant alliance--generated by the material living conditions of both classes under the exploitation regimes from which our country suffered and by the confrontation with common enemies--has been forged and has been developing throughout the struggles fought by our people ever since the wars of independence and until today.

Throughout this long road, the blood of the best children of these two allied classes, spilled in the common battle, has blended and consolidated their natural unity even more.

The PCC takes into consideration the fundamental character of this alliance and historical causes of its origin and development; it is working to maintain and strengthen them as one of the pillars without which the successful construction of the socialist society would not be possible.

The Party

The PCC must be the higher leading force of Cuban society and the Cuban state, it must organize and orient common efforts aimed at the construction of socialism and the advance toward communism, and it has the responsibility of playing the role of organized vanguard of the working class which, freely and voluntarily, consists of the best sons of the people, selected from among the most aware and outstanding workers.

The party has numerous tasks ahead of it in order to achieve a higher political quality and to develop its growing leadership role within the context of perfecting our society's political organization.

Fighting for the materialization of the objectives stated in this program platform and mobilizing the entire people in order to accomplish these objectives is the first great duty of the party and its militants.

The party must rigorously apply the principles stated in its charter and must impregnate all militants with the educational content of those principles.

111

The party must make sure that the principal guideline for the policy aimed at increasing its ranks will be a policy of quality and that the working class and especially the workers directly linked to production will predominate in the social makeup of its militants.

The party must perfect the policy of cadre training and advancement, following an adequate system of promotion from base levels and taking into account the political-moral and technical-labor characteristics of each cadre, his qualification, his degree of awareness and responsibility toward labor, his political qualities and his organizational and leadership capacity; the work of the cadres is decisive in the quality of party work as a whole.

The party must strengthen and perfect, to the maximum extent, the mechanisms of democratic centralism so that they may guarantee and combine the broadest internal democracy and the strictest party discipline, as expressed in the following principal aspects:

All of the party's leadership bodies are elected, from the bottom to the top;

All party organizations must render periodic, systematic, and regular accounts to those who elected them and to their superior organs;

All organizations must function on the basis of collective leadership and free discussion and exercise of criticism and self-criticism within their midst;

All must observe party discipline and the minority must subordinate itself to the majority;

All decisions made by the organizations must be carried out obligatorily and unconditionally by lower-level organizations;

All must regularly hold their meetings.

112

The party's leading and guiding role with regard to the state and society as a whole is exercised in various ways. The drafting-by its higher level organs-of general directives on the fundamental issues of the country's economic, political, cultural, and social development, as well as on the problems touching on the various social sectors, constitutes one of the specific forms in which this function is performed. The activity of the party's base and leadership organizations, as well as that of the militants, represents another one of the principal ways to be employed in the direction and orientation of the various social, government, and economic entities.

One of the party's principal responsibilities is constantly and permanently to maintain an active and direct link and communication with the entire working class and with the rest of the working people as the sole guarantee of its force and authority before the masses and as the only way to make sure that its policy will be in keeping with the aspirations of the masses and the concrete conditions which the country's development imposes.

In developing its activities and relations with government agencies and with the rest of the political and mass organizations, the party only employs the method of persuasion and conviction and bases itself on the prestige and authority which it enjoys amidst the entire people and through the free and conscious conformation of these organizations and organs to its leadership role.

The State

113

The Cuban state is a socialist state of workers and peasants and the other manual and intellectual workers; it is a part of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constituting its most direct instrument whose resolutions have obligatory juridical force for all citizens. It has a profoundly democratic character, institutionally guaranteeing the participation of the working class and the rest of the workers in the exercise of the dictatorship of the absolute majority of the population over the minority of former exploiters and their agents.

Our country's government machine is made up of various agencies: the representative institutions of state power which constitute the primary organs; the agencies responsible for the administration and direction of the various activities, and the judicial and fiscal organizations.

114

The Cuban socialist state is organized on the basis of democratic centralism and guarantees the incorporation of the working masses in state activities.

115

The fundamental objective which our state has during the present historical phase is the construction and consolidation of socialism for which purpose it must face a complex of tasks that are of vital importance and that can be summarized as follows: Repel and crush the resistance of the classes that have been ousted from power and their allies;

Organize production and other economic activities and carry out the planning and control of these activities;

Improve the people's material well-being;

Direct the people's cultural development and socialist education;

Defend socialist property and legality;

Perfect and constantly improve the country's defense capabilities;

Develop a foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

To accomplish these tasks successfully, the party will devote its efforts to the process of institutionalization and extension of the organs of people's power throughout the country and to the development and constant subsequent perfection of our government machine.

During the first years of the coming 5-year plan, we will institute a new political-administrative division, taking the following fundamental factors into account: the area, population, geographic and historical elements, and the long-range economic-social development of each of the country's zones. The reorganization and subsequent perfection of the entire government machinery and of the political and mass institutions will be carried out in accordance with this new political-administrative division, through the creation and subsequent development of the organs of people's power and through the implementation and perfection of the economic management system.

As part of the task of perfecting the state, we will carry on a determined struggle against bureaucratism in all of its manifestations, for the elimination of surplus personnel assignments, and for the improvement of administrative efficiency.

116

The Revolutionary Armed Forces constitute the armed and secure bulwark for the fatherland's defense against all possible aggression, direct or concealed, by imperialism. The fatherland's defense by force of arms is the highest honor and an inescapable duty of every citizen.

The party assigns particular importance to the strengthening of the defense capability, as well as the elevation of the combat and political training level of the fighting men.

The agencies of the Ministry of the Interior play an extraordinarily important role in the defense of social property; in the maintenance of the standards of socialist coexistence; and in the struggle against any attempt by the enemy to sabotage the development of the revolution. The perfection of these agencies represents a task of great significance; in addition to this, the task includes the constant elevation of the ideological and technical level of its cadres and the invigoration of extensive bonds between its personnel and the working masses.

The enhancement of the role and influence of the party organizations within the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] and the Ministry of the Interior is a task of great importance.

117

The arduous task of institutionalization, in which our revolution finds itself engaged, particularly includes the strengthening of socialist legality, the completion of legislation and codes on the basis of socialist principles, strict observance of and compliance with the law by the various state and social institutions, their personnel, and all citizens, without exception.

The party's leaders and militants and those of the mass organizations, the members of the people's power organs, the functionaries of the government agencies and the economic organizations must be the standardbearers of obedience to the law and compliance with the law.

The development and perfection of our state during the phases of the construction and development of socialism will lead to the communist phase where—as Marx and Engels pointed out—"public power will lose its political character," society will directly handle the administration of its affairs, creating conditions for the withering away of the state.

UJC and the Mass Organizations

118

The development and growing strength of the youth movement constitutes a priority task in our society. The UJC, organizationally independent of the party, has the central and most important mission of drawing the young people into the tasks of the revolution, decisively contributing to the integral communist development of the young people and to their preparation for joining the party.

The UJC must develop intense activity aimed at mobilizing the broadest masses of young people for the accomplishment of their own tasks and those that spring from this program platform; it must cultivate the moral features of socialism in the conscience of the young people and, through the Union of Pioneers of Cuba--whose importance keeps growing--it must maintain and develop the effort of patriotic and communist training of our people's most precious reserve.

119

The mass organizations are an integral part of the system of proletarian dictatorship and represent the principal transmission belts between the party and the various sectors of the population.

The labor unions constitute the organizational grouping of the working class, the most advanced class in society; they are directly tied to production and, as Lenin pointed out, constitute the school of administration and communism; hence, the oustanding and first-ranking role which they play in the construction of the new society, within the overall complex of the country's mass and social organizations.

Through the labor unions, the vast worker masses participate actively in the solution of the various problems which our society faces in its economic and social development; they are the promoters and organizers of socialist competition; they

constitute a powerful instrument for the education of the workers in a new, communist attitude toward work and social duty and, as representatives of the specific interests of the workers, they watch over compliance with the measures which our government takes to the benefit of the workers.

flong with the labor union institutions, our people are grouped in different mass and social organizations which, together, encompass the most varied sectors, each one of them playing a specific and important role.

120

The ANAP (National Association of Small Farmers) represents the interests of the working peasants and channels the participation of this so important social class toward the construction of socialism. As the standardbearer of socialist ideas among the peasants, the ANAP plays a determinant role in the clarification of the advantages of socialist forms of production and incorporation in it, making sure that the principle of voluntary membership is complied with.

121

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution rally and organize our adult population, their activity is aimed at defending the Revolution, improving the ideological development of the broadest masses, and carrying out and providing impetus for many tasks within the community.

122

The Cuban Women's Federation organizes the vast masses of women and reflects their interests and concerns. It has the following immediate tasks: intensification—together with the rest of the political and mass organizations—of the struggle for the creation of objective and subjective conditions which permit the full exercise of women's equality, which make it possible to provide an impetus for the political—educational and cultural advancement of women, and to fight for the constant improvement of child care and development.

123

The University Student Federation and the Federation of Secondary School Students are doing intensive ideological work among our young students, bringing them up in our heroic historical and internationalist traditions, out of love for the working class, in the interest of science, technology, culture, and sports, and in the role which they will play as our society's future professional technicians. In general, they channel the activity of the student masses within the framework of the revolution's work.

124

The Cuban Pioneers Union—the great school in which our country's children prepare themselves for the future and in which begins the revolutionary life of the men and women of tomorrow—is working to develop in our children a sense of responsibility toward the accomplishment of social duty, especially toward their studies; it inculcates in them profound patriotic and revolutionary sentiments, habits of conduct in accord with the principles of socialist morality; it organizes their

after-school activities. For all of these reasons, this organization plays a great role in the development of the future generations.

125

The Union of Cuban Writers and Artists has the task of performing a complex of activities aimed at promoting the working conditions of these professional individuals and stimulating works which will enrich the national and universal cultural possessions of our people.

126

The Cuban Newspapermen's Union has the fundamental mission of contributing to the ideological and political equipment of our newspapermen, their professional technical advancement, so that their work may constitute a valuable contribution to the dissemination and firm establishment of our revolution's work and ideology.

The party will devote special attention to the strengthening and development of all social and mass organizations, their profoundly democratic content, and the perfection of those mechanisms through which it can relate to them.

Socialist Democracy

127

This complex of political, state, mass, and social institutions, organs, and organizations, in terms of their interrelationship and their complementary but diverse functioning, constitutes the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat through which is organized the leadership of our society which is committed to the task of building socialism and communism.

By their own free and sovereign will, manifested in a systematic manner on many occasions, including the blood spilled by its best sons, such as in the Bay of Pigs, and running the risk of massive physical annihilation during the 1962 October crisis, the Cuban people decided to eliminate all forms of exploitation of man by man and to build the communist society; an indispensable prerequisite, for this is the establishment of this form of organizing the leadership of society which signifies the dictatorship of the vast working majorities of the people over the minority of exploiters and their allies who have been ousted from political and economic power.

128

This system, in turn, represents the broadest democracy for the workers, the peasants, and the rest of the working people who are now the owners of all the country's means of production and of the results of their work, who have the opportunity to participate directly, for the first time in our history, in the government of society, and in the discussion and approval of its Constitution, in the discussion of the principal laws by which they will be governed, of the principal program directives which will guide the country's march over the coming years, of the production plans of their enterprises, after which they will take an active part in the execution and supervision of their compliance through the production assemblies, through their labor unions and other organizations, through which they participate in the revolutionary process and through which they have the possibility of expressing their specific interests at each and every moment.

Our working people elect from among their midst their representatives who will form a part of the country's highest government power institutions, the organs of people's power, in which they will deliberate and make decisions on all problems touching them individually and collectively; through them they designate and substitute the state's administrative functionaries and through them they elect and recall the members of their executive bodies at any moment; through them they elect and recall the members of the people's tribunals.

129

This socialist democracy is incomparably superior to bourgeois democracy in any of its forms, where apparent formal liberty always conceals the most exclusive dictatorship of the exploiter minority and its allies over the vast masses of the people who are the creators of wealth and who in turn get misery and ignorance, who are barred from exercising the most minimal real democratic rights in practice.

This socialist democracy constantly perfects and develops its mechanisms in order to increasingly assure and make viable the direct participation of the working masses in the country's political decisions, in affairs of state, in the management of the economy, thus helping to improve the quality and efficiency of society's leadership, helping to develop collectivism and social responsibility while broad and growing possibilities keep opening up so that the individual capacity and initiative of each member of society may manifest itself to the fullest extent and so that the human personality may flourish in all of its potential strength.

Published by the Revolutionary Orientation Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba.

Havana, October 1975, "Year of the First Congress."

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ATES DEPARTMENT OF JUST

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION Miami, Florida

January 21, 1976

DECLASSIFIED BY ANGLOS 90 BCG/CM/SW ON 19/5/04

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - JAMAICA

On January 20, 1976, a confidential source who has furnished information in the past, but insufficient to assess his reliability, but in a position to know through established contacts with furnished the following information:

ρλÇ

The incumbent political party of Jamaica is the Peoples National Party (PNP), duly elected by a substantial majority on a socialist platform, but never professed procommunism. The titular head of the PNP, Prime Minister MICHAEL MANLEY, is pro-communist, but publically refers to his program as socialist.

The opposition minority political party is the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP), headed by EDWARD SEAGA, Minister of Finance. According to source, SEAGA is pro-American.

In recent riots in Jamaica, the Jamaican National Army and Police refused to intervene as a result, each political party is organizing its own military.

The next Jamaican elections are scheduled to be held in the next two or three months.

Prime Minister MANLEY has imported 300 Cuban technicians, workers, and weapons experts, ostensibly to build schools. Reportedly the Cubans possess Russian automatic

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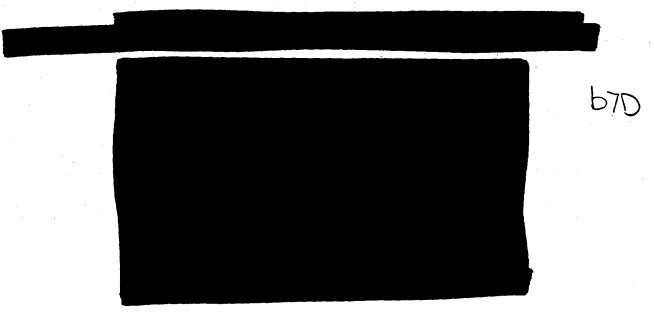


RE: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS

weapons and have instituted weapons training schools for the PNP's private military - since the PNP does not have the full support of the national military or national police. It is alleged that the PNP's Cuban trained military will eventually take the place of the national army, followed by a communist takeover of the Jamaican Government.

It is further alleged the Cuban imports mentioned above are currently constructing missile bases on the island for a projected completion in six to eight weeks. The specific location of these missile bases was not known at the time.

The JLP is badly in need of direction in expert advice in organization and tactics in order to combat the pro-communist PLP.



Secretary of Finance SEAGA is apprehensive of the opposition to the extent that he rotates three personal rental cars each three hours to avoid bugging and surveillance.

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FBI Date: 1/26/76 Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code) AIRTEL (Precedence) TO: DIRECTOR, FBI SAC, BOSTON FROM: FOREIGN ECONOMIC MATTERS - CUEA SUBJECT: IS - CUBA (Bufile 110-6-210) HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT (BSfile 110-2)(C) Where shown otherwise. FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA IS - CUBA (Bufile 109-12-210) (BSfile 109-16)(C) DATE: **DECLASSIFY ON: 25X3** #392226 Enclosures Enclosed for FBIHQ are sixteen copies of an LHM ENCLOSED FOR THING are SIXTEEN COPIES OF an accordance of an accordance of the copies Washington, D. C. Bureau (Encs. 16) (RM) 2-110-6-210) (Encs. 5) Exempt from GDS, Category 109-12-210) (Encs. 5.) Date of Declassification (Encs. 5) (1-105-230021) (Enc. 1) 2-New York (Encs. 2) (RM) 4-Boston CARBON COPY (1-110-2)(1-109-16)

Special Agent in Charge

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RUEBWJA/ Attorney General Deputy Attorney Attn: Anal	lysis and Evaluation Unit
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RUEABND/ Drug Enforcement Administration	RUEANAT/  National Aeronautics & Space Adm.
RUEBWJA/ Immigration and Naturalization Service	RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency
RUEBWJA/ U.S. Marshal's Service	(DIRNSA/NSOC (Attn: SOO))
RUEBDUA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)	RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
RUEACSI/ Department of the Army	RUEAUSA/ U. S. Postal Service (if Classified) (Use RUEVDFS if Unclassified)
RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA	RUEHSE/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
RUEBJGA/ Commandant, U. S. Coast Guard	RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency	RUEBJGA/ Department of Transportation
RHEGGTN/ Energy Research and Development Administration	Attn: Director of Security
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1	RUEBWJA/	Attorney General Deputy Attorn		Then Unit 10/4/04
1	RUEBWJA/	Assistant Attorney General, Civil Righ	ts Division <b>Cl</b>	ASSIFIED BY MELLER BELLENGE
1	RUEBWJA/	Assistant Attorney General, Criminal I	Division Di	al Crimes Section
]	RUEABND/	Drug Enforcement Administration	RUEANAT/	National Aeronautics & Space Adm.
]	RUEBWJA/	Immigration and Naturalization Service	RUEOIAA/	National Security Agency
1	RUEBWJA/	U. S. Marshal's Service		(DIRNSA/NSOC (Attn: SOO))
1	RUEBDUA/	Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)	RUEOLKN/	Naval Investigative Service
1	RUEACSI/	Department of the Army	RUEAUSA/	U. S. Postal Service (if Classified) (Use RUEVDFS if Unclassified)
1	RUEAIIA/	Director, CIA	RUEHSE/	U. S. Secret Service (PID)
1	RUEBJGA/	Commandant, U. S. Coast Guard	RUEHOC/	Secretary of State
	RUEKJCS/ RHEGGTN/	Director, Defense Intelligence Agency  Energy Research and Development  Administration	RUEBJGA/	Department of Transportation Attn: Director of Security
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FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM," ROOM 500	3, 50 OAK STREET, SAN FRANC	cisco, bic
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Dep.-A.D.-Adm.

**■** FEB 24 1976

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SAN FRANCISCO INDICES FURTHER REFLECT THAT WILPF CONTACTED THE SOVIET MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, 136 E. 67TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY ON OCTOBER 29, 1973, NEW YORK FILE 125-131355, USING THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS: P.O.HBOX 11258, PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO INDICES CONTAIN NO FURTHER INFORMATION ON

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BASED ON ABOVE, SAN FRANCISCO IS CONSIDERING THIS CASE RUC'D.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



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SECTION 118

**HEADQUARTERS** 

FBIHQ INVESTIGATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE FILES

PICKETT STREET

Transfer - Call Use Care in Handling this File

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5:54PM NITEL FEBRUARY 18, 1976 JDC

TO:

DIRECTOR/, FBI 109-12-210

ATLANTA (109-14)

CHICAGO (109-27)

NEW(YORK (109-112)

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CHARLOTTE (109-4)

ATT N:

INTD

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA; IS - CUBA.

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU AND OTHERS, DATED FEBRUARY 12, 1976.

LINE TWO. PAGE TWO, REFERENCED TELETYPE SETS FORTH DATE AS FEBRUARY 12, 1976. THIS DATE SHOULD READ FEBRUARY 16, 1976, AND THEREFORE LAST SENTENCE, PAGE ONE, AND FIRST AND SECOND LINES. PAGE TWO OF REFERENCED TELETYPE SHOULD READ AS FOLLOWS:

SOURCE STATED

BUREAU AND OTHER OFFICES ARE REQUESTED TO RECT

END.

PLS ACK FOR 1

CBL FBIHQ

61 MAR 1 0 1976

Assoc. Dir. Dep.-A.D.-Adm Dep.-A.D.-Inv. Asst. Dir.: Admin. Comp. Syst. Ext. Affairs Files & Com. Gen. Inv. \_ Ident. Inspection Intell. Laboratory Plan. & Eval. Spec. Inv. Training Legal Coun. Telephone Ren Director Sec'y

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PAGE SIX NY L39-113

NEW YORK, AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW AND REPORT ON THE CUBAN SEMINAR ON ANGOLA.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RENYTEL TO BUREAU, FEBRUARY 3, 1976.

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#### Enclosures

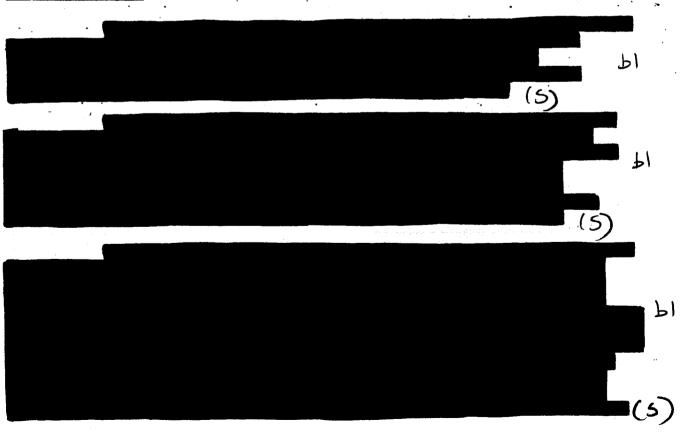
Enclosed for FBIHQ are sixteen copies of an LHM dated and triple captioned as above with a dateline of Washington, D. C.

Enclosed for the New York Office are two copies of bl

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Administrative



	DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET					
3	Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.					
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In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

### SECKET U TED STATES DEPARTMENT C. JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

March 8, 1976

DATE: 4/13/66 CLASSIFIED BY 60369 AUC TAM/DCC/ 9000 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X3.3(1/6) 4/13/2639

FOREIGN ECONOMIC MATTERS - CUBA

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

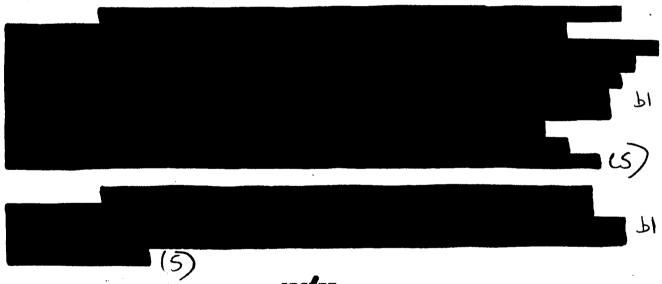
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Economic Matters



Classified by 3417
Exempt from GDS, Category 2 & 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

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This document contains neither recommendations nor equalities of the FBI. It is the property of the Filliand is leaned to your eleany, it is a list contents are not to be abstributed outside your agency.

[Enclosure 109 - 12 - 210 -

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FOREIGN ECONOMIC MATTERS - CUBA FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

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Political Matters

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inquired as to the Americans' reaction to Cuban intervention in Angola. When advised that in war nobody wins, replied in an uncharacteristicly somber fashion, "I know." When asked whether or not he had been able to visit with while in Cuba in February, 1976, he replied that he had. He also acknowledged without elaborating that was very worried. Then introduced who is described as being about 5 feet tall and somewhat on the heavy side. She projected a very warm personality and spoke English with a noticeable Cuban accent.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

## SECLET UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

March 22, 1976

DATE: 4 13 06 CLASSIFIED BY 60369/Auc/TAM/D

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X3.3(1,6) 4 13 203 0

FOREIGN ECONOMIC MATTERS - CUBA

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

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ALL INFORMATION CONTINUED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Economic Matters



SECRET
Classified by 3417
Exempt from GDS, 2 & 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

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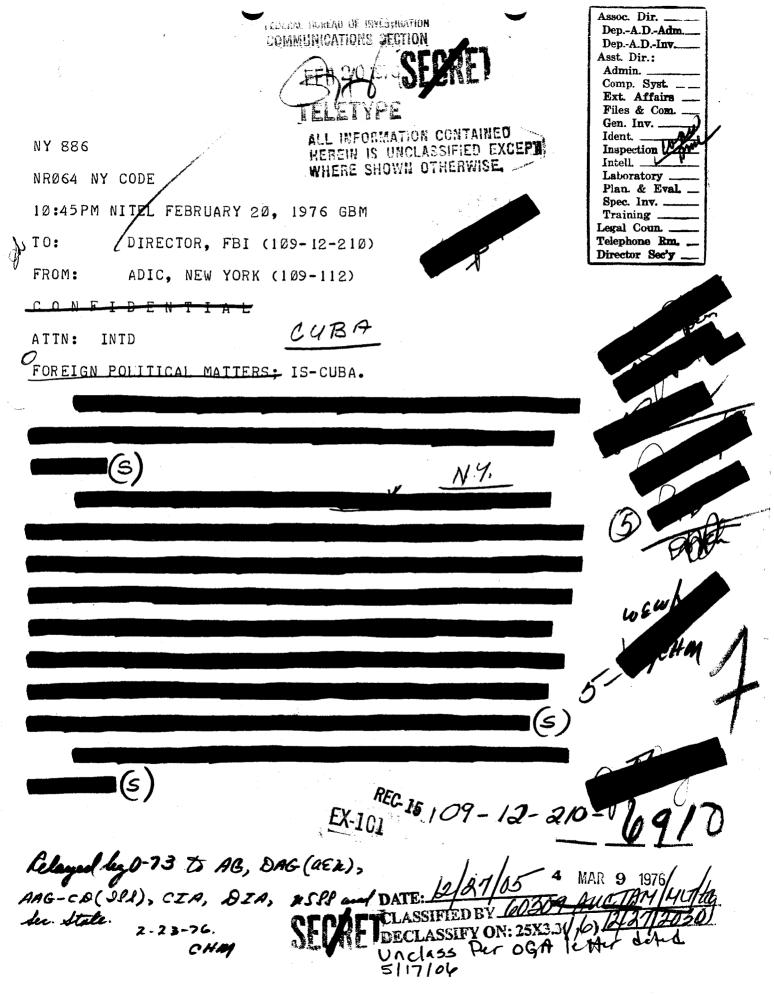
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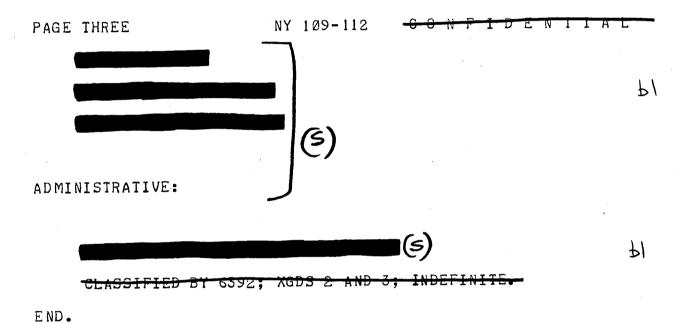
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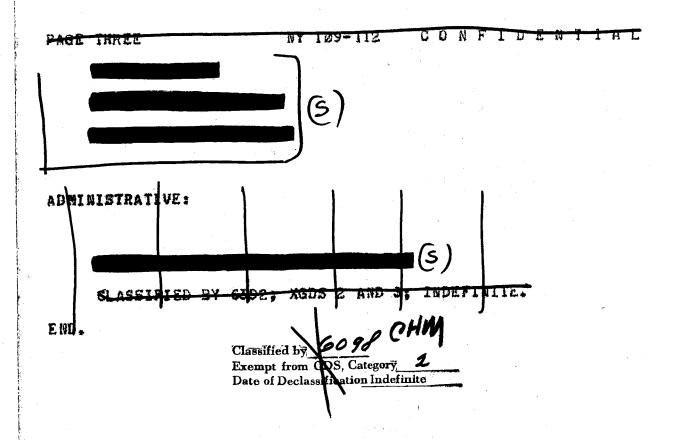
CLUARAL CONTROL OF DESCRIPATION COMMUNICATIONS SECTION NA 886 NAMES NY CODE 12:45PM NITEL FEBRUARY 20, 1976 GBM DIRECTOR, FBI (109- 2-210) TOE ADIC, NEW YORK (189-112) FROM: ATTN: INT FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS; IS-CUBA. Ы 1

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#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF HAVESTIGATION COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 1 2/19 SEPRET

NY 685

NRØØ2 NY CODE

929 AM URGENT 3/12/76 ETB

TØ:

DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM:

ADIC, NEW YORK (109-112)

CONFIDENTIAL

ATTN: INTD

TO ENTINE

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Assoc. Dir.

Dep.-A.D.-Adm

Dep.-A.D.-Inv. Asst. Dir.: Admin.

Comp. Syst. Ext. Affairs Files & Com.

Gen. Inv. Ident.

Inspection Intell. Laboratory

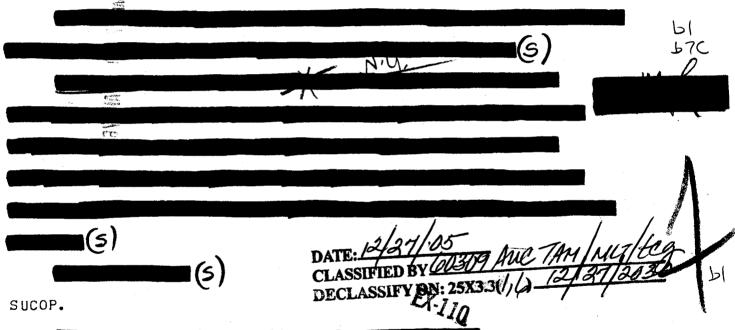
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Spec. Inv.

Training \_\_\_\_\_ Legal Coun. \_\_\_ Telephone Rm.

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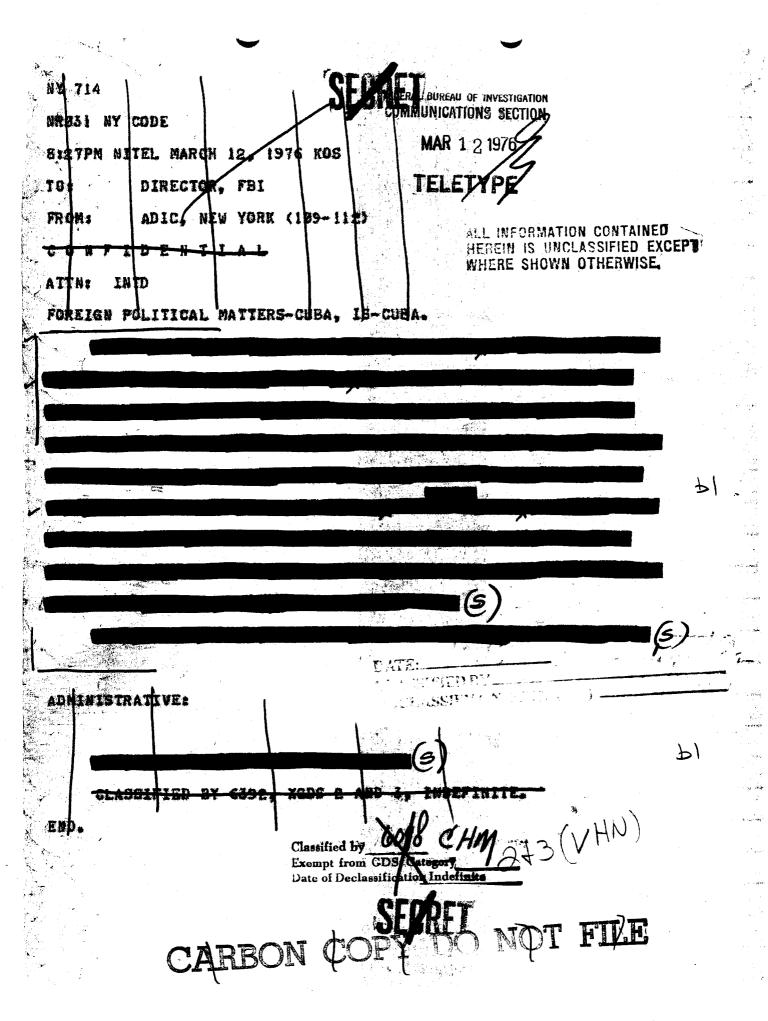
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F	RUEBWJA/	Assistant Attorney Attn: Internal S	General, Criminal Div Security Section	vision] Attn: Genera	al Crimes S	ection	1
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F	RUEBWJA/	Immigration and Na	turalization Service	RUEOIAA/	Nation	al Security Agency	.*
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## MESSAGE RELAY

Transmit in Code  Plaintext Via Teletype the Attached Urgent Nitel  Date MARCH 15 1976  Nessage
To: SACs:  To: Legats:  DATE: 237/05  CLASSIFIED BY 60509 AUC TAM, MITHOG HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT.  DECLASSIFY ON: 25X3.3(6) 23/37/3036 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.
To: RUEADWW/ The President The Vice President White House Situation Room Attn: Attn:  RUEBWJA/ Attorney General Deputy Attorney General Deputy Attorney General The Attorney General The Vice President White House Situation Room Attn:
Attn: Analysis and Evaluation Unit  RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division  RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division  Attn: Internal Security Section
Assoc. Dir



OPCA-20 (12-3-96)

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#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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	Section 552			Section 552a
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#### **MESSAGE RELAY**

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From:	Director, F	BI			WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.
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То:	RUEADWW/	The President	The Vice Presi	ident	☐ White House Situation Room ☐ Attn:
	RUEBWJA/	Attorney General	Deputy Attorne Attn: Anal	y General ysis and Eval	uation Unit
	RUEBWJA/	Assistant Attorney Gen	eral, Civil Rights	Division	
	RUEBWJA/	Assistant Attorney Gen Attn: Internal Secu		vision ] Attn: Gener	al Crimes Section
	RUEABND/	Drug Enforcement Admi	nistration	RUEANAT/	National Aeronautics & Space Adm.
	RUEBWJA/	Immigration and Natura	lization Service	RUEOIAA/	National Security Agency
	RUEBWJA/	U. S. Marshal's Service	•		(DIRNSA/NSOC (Attn: SOO))
	RUEBDUA/	Department of the Air F	orce (AFOSI)	RUEOLKN/	Naval Investigative Service
	RUEACSI/	Department of the Army		RUEAUSA/	U. S. Postal Service (if Classified) (Use RUEVDFS if Unclassified)
	RUEAIIA/	Director, CIA		RUEHSE/	U. S. Secret Service (PID)
	RUEBJGA/	Commandant, U.S. Coa	st Guard	RUEHOC/	Secretary of State
	RUEKJCS/	Director, Defense Intel	ligence Agency	RUEBJGA/	Department of Transportation
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V:20AM

NITEL MARCH 19. 1976 GABTO:

DIRECTOR, FBI

109-12-210-

FROM:

ADIC. NEW YORK (109-112)

SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

2) DATE: /2/27/05

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Assoc Dir. \_\_\_\_ Dep.-A.D.-Adm.

Dep.-A.D.-Inv.-Asst Dir.:

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Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_ Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_

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#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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12:45PM URGENT FMARCH 1. 1976 JCG

DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210) TO

NEW YORK (109-112)

NEWARK (109-9) @UC) FR OM

ATTENTION:

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160309 AUCTAN INTELLIGENCE DIVISION FOREIGN FOLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA:

RECORDS OF NEW JERSEY BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY, NEWARK, NEW DIC. JERSEY, AS REVIEWED ON REBRUARY 28, 1976, REPLECT TELEPHONE LA IS SUBSCRIBED TO BY NUMBER

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PERSON WHO HAS BEEN

MADE IT KNOWN IN PUBLIC UTTERANCES AS A PARTICIPANT IN VARIOUS DEMONSTRATIONS AND IN MAGAZINE ARTICLES SUCH AS, "RAMPARTS". "NEW REPUBLIC", "VIET REPORT", AND "MOHAMMED SPEAKS" OF HIS STRONG DISAGREEMENT WITH UNITED STATES POLICY IN VIET NAM.

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Director Sec'y

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RE: NEW YORK TELETYPE DATED FEBRUARY 18, 1976.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

SDS FBIHQ

#### 1 BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION SELECTION CC.AMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 2 2,197

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TELETYPE

NIPEL MARCH 22, 1976 GBM 7:50 P.M.

TO:

DARECTOR, FBI (109-12-210 AN

ADIC. LOS ANGELES

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FROM:

ADIC. NEW YORK (109-112)

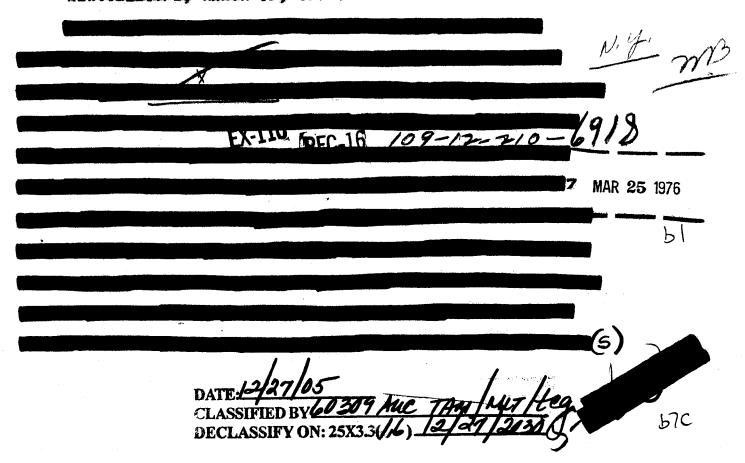
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A T T E N T I O Nº INID FOREIGN FOLITICAL MATTERS; IS - CUBA RENYTELE MARCH 19, 1976.

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#### MESSAGE RELAY

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To: RUEADWW/ The President The Vice President White House Situation Room Attn: Attn:  RUEBWJA/ Attorney General Deputy Attorney General Attn: Analysis and Evaluation Unit  RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division Attn: Internal Security Section Attn: General Crimes Section  RUEABND/ Drug Enforcement Administration RUEANAT/ National Aeronautics & Space Adm.  RUEBWJA/ Immigration and Naturalization Service RUEDIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Attn: SOO))  RUEBDUA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)  RUEDLKN/ Naval Investigative Service	То:	REC.16	Maria Maria de Sala. P		6917	To: L	egats:	
To: RUEADWW/ The President The Vice President White House Situation Room Attn: Attn:  RUEBWJA/ Attorney General Deputy Attorney General Attn: Analysis and Evaluation Unit  RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division Attn: Internal Security Section Attn: General Crimes Section  RUEABND/ Drug Enforcement Administration RUEANAT/ National Aeronautics & Space Adm.  RUEBWJA/ Immigration and Naturalization Service RUEDIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Attn: SOO))  RUEBDUA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)  RUEDLKN/ Naval Investigative Service			EX.110			A.I	L INFORMATION CON	TAINED
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7:50 P.M. NITEL MARCH 22, 1976 GBM

TO:

DIRECTOR | FBI (189-12-219 AND

ADIC, LOS ANGELES

FROM:

ADJC, NEW YORK (1/9-112)

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· / URGENT MARCH 23, 1976 GBM

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM:

ADIC, NEW YORK (109-112)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPTION OTHERWISE.

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Legal Coun. \_\_ Telephone Rm.

Director Sec'y

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Dep.-A.D.-Inv.\_\_ Asst. Dir.:

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## MESSAGE RELAY

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	RUEBWJA/	Assistant Attorney Attn: Internal		vision ] Attn: Gener	al Crimes Section	
	RUEABND/	Drug Enforcement	Administration	RUEANAT/		Adm.
	RUEBWJA/	Immigration and N	aturalization Service	RUEOIAA/	National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Attn: SOO))	4 0
	RUEBWJA/	U. S. Marshal's Se	ervice	DUDOL IAM		w 50
	RUEBDUA/	Department of the	Air Force (AFOSI)	RUEOLKN/	U. S. Postal Service (if Class	aified) 1 S
	RUEACSI/	Department of the	Army	RUEAUSA/	(Use RUEVDFS if Unclassifi	ed)
	RUEAIIA/	Director, CIA		RUEHSE/	U. S. Secret Service (PID)	
	RUEBJGA/	Commandant, U. S.		RUEHOC/	Secretary of State	
	RUEKJCS/		Intelligence Agency	RUEBJGA/	Department of Transportation	TE (2/4) ASSITIED I CLASSIFY
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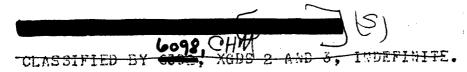
NY 128 SEVALT NR035 NY CODE 8:11 P.M. PRGENT MARCH 23, 1976 6BM DERECTOR, FBI (129-12-419) 10: FROM: DIC, NEW YORK (109-112) ATTN: (5)

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of 1947 and the c	CIA (b)(7)(E)	□ (k)(3)
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